

ARISTOCRAZIA NOBILIARE E ARISTOCRAZIA DEL SAPERE IN ATENE (V-IV SEC. A.C.)

La nozione di ἀριστοκρατία nel V e nel IV sec. offre diverse prospettive di lettura. Relativamente al campo delle scienze sociali e delle dottrine politiche era applicata dalla speculazione filosofica dell'antichità a settori molto larghi: aveva i suoi referenti in distinzioni sociali, indicando una superiorità che derivava dalla nascita, dalla disponibilità di larghi mezzi, più spesso dalla combinazione di lignaggio e di censo, e veniva attribuita ad una classe omogenea per finalità, interessi e funzioni, che in età arcaica aveva detenuto il potere in gran parte delle poleis della Grecia, grazie anche al possesso degli strumenti culturali necessari per esercitarlo. Definiva altresì categorie politiche e legali, entrando nella tipologia delle forme di governo, accanto alla monarchia e alla democrazia. Ἀριστοκρατία era infine applicata dalla riflessione teorica al campo dei comportamenti, per affermare una eccellenza procurata dal possesso di qualità intrinseche che indirizzano l'azione individuale e collettiva a fini positivi, assegnandole una valenza preminentemente etica, e tra queste qualità, capacità intellettuali ed esperienze conoscitive occupano un posto preponderante¹.

Applicando i parametri forniti dalla speculazione teorica antica ai sistemi sociali e agli ordinamenti politici degli stati greci si deve pertanto considerare l'azione degli ἄριστοι in relazione a criteri di nobiltà gentilizia, di superiorità morale ed intellettuale, di eccellenza politica, qualità che, comunque, pongono chi le detiene in una posizione distin-

¹ Il rapporto tra nobiltà di nascita (εὐγένεια), stirpe (γένος), ἀρετή morale e intellettuale è affermata in più circostanze da Aristotele. Cfr. ad es. Aristot. F94 Rose; *Pol.* 1293b1-20, 1301b1-4, 1316b3-5, 1317b39-41, 1319a19-28, 1321a5-6; *Eth. Nic.* 1131a24-29; *Rhet.* 1367b28-32. La bibliografia moderna in proposito è ampia. Mi limito qui a citare alcune delle opere più recenti che più specificamente hanno affrontato il tema e alle quali rimando anche per la discussione storiografica e gli studi anteriori: M.T.W. ARNHEIM, *Aristocracy in Greek Society*, London 1977, p. 180ss.; W. DONLAN, *The Aristocratic Ideal in Ancient Greece. Attitudes of Superiority from Homer to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Lawrence (KA) 1980; J. OBER, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens. Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People*, Princeton 1989, p. 248ss.; E. STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP, *Adelskultur und Polisgesellschaft. Studien zum griechischen Adel in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 1989, p. 104ss.; F. BOURRIOT, *Kalos kagathos, kalokagathia. D'un terme de propagande de sophistes à une notion sociale et philosophique. Etude d'histoire athénienne*, Paris 1995, p. 123ss.

tiva rispetto all'agire della comunità nel suo complesso. A questo proposito alcuni studiosi evidenziano da un lato l'aspetto elitario dell'ethos aristocratico, in quanto condiviso da un gruppo limitato di persone, dall'altro l'alta coesione di questo gruppo e la sua capacità di produrre opinioni che influenzano i più².

Occorre tuttavia aggiungere che nel vissuto sociale e secondo le mentalità diffuse ad Atene all'epoca della democrazia, le qualità che contribuivano a disegnare il ritratto del «buon cittadino»³ erano in larga parte ispirate da valori e modelli di comportamento analoghi. I contenuti delle differenti δοκιμασίαι applicate a magistrati e a ῥήτορες sono sufficientemente indicative dei doveri dei singoli, ma anche delle aspettative della comunità, in ordine allo spessore etico di coloro che partecipavano all'attività degli istituti pubblici, in primo luogo all'ecclesia, ai tribunali, alla boule⁴. Fondamentalmente, la nozione di ἀριστεία si applicava ad un'eccellenza individuale che recuperava in termini di «funzione» — entro un sistema di partecipazione ugualitaria — valori di superiorità morale e intellettuale che in epoca predemocratica discendevano da una nobiltà di stirpe e insieme a questa costituivano la base di legittimazione per un gruppo a detenere il controllo del potere.

La costruzione della democrazia dopo le riforme clisteniche che avevano dissolto le strutture e gli strumenti d'azione dei gruppi di potere, favorendo la partecipazione diretta del cittadino alla vita pubblica, si costruì entro un dialogo politico che aveva come interlocutori l'intera comunità civica da un lato, il singolo πολίτης dall'altro⁵. Di conseguenza,

² C.G. STARR, *Individual and Community: the Rise of the Polis, 800-500 B.C.*, New York 1986, p. 31ss., 53ss.; ID., *The Aristocratic Temper of Greek Civilization*, New York-Oxford 1992; J. OBER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 250ss.

³ Cfr. G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *Città-stato e stati federali della Grecia classica*, Milano 1993, p. 316ss.; EAD. *Formen der politischen Betätigung des athenischen Bürgers in der klassischen Zeit* (in corso di stampa).

⁴ In proposito rimando a L. ROSSETTI, *Le magistrature nell'Atene classica: forme di controllo e forme di responsabilità*, in A. GIULIANI - M. PICARDI (edd.), *Il pubblico funzionario: modelli storici e comparativi*, in *Atti del 3° e 4° Seminario internazionale sulla educazione giuridica*, I, *Profili storici*, Perugia 1981, p. 3-42; J. TOLBERT ROBERTS, *Accountability in Athenian Government*, Madison (WI) 1982, p. 5ss., 161ss.; J. OBER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 110; G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *Formen* (n. 3). In un contesto più ampio, sulla «trasparenza come caratteristica pubblica e primaria della democrazia classica» si veda D. MUSTI, *Demokratia. Origini di un'idea*, Roma-Bari 1995, p. 73ss.

⁵ J.M. BERTRAND, *Formes de discours politique: décrets des cités grecques et correspondance des rois hellénistiques*, in Cl. NICOLET (ed.), *Du pouvoir dans l'antiquité: mots et réalités (Cahiers du Centre Glotz)*, Genève 1990, p. 101-115; G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *Formen* (n. 3). Secondo W.R. CONNOR, *The Problem of Athenian Civic Identity*, in A.L.

i caratteri e le forme della presenza di una élite gentilizia nella storia di Atene vanno ricercati in direzioni diverse dal politico e soprattutto inducono a separare iniziative individuali da quelle di un ceto nel suo complesso. Deve inoltre essere tenuto presente che gli ordinamenti dello Stato e i criteri per accedervi hanno agito rispettivamente come meccanismi e procedure di controllo e hanno potuto contenere entro limiti fisiologici l'azione di élites, sia che si trattasse dei gruppi nobiliari, sia che fossero il prodotto di stratificazioni consolidate nel corso dell'età democratica, penso soprattutto alle élites di censo e alle élites di potere, soprattutto dopo che ῥήτορες e στρατηγοί divennero i protagonisti del dibattito pubblico⁶.

L'indagine storica e l'analisi sociologica hanno già fornito risposte adeguate al fenomeno della occupazione di posti di potere da parte di singoli esponenti dell'aristocrazia nobile — sia che esso attesti la resistenza o l'assimilazione al sistema vigente — come pure alle circostanze che hanno consentito ad alcune famiglie gentilizie di rimanere entro o di fondersi con una fascia sociale distinta per il possesso di risorse economiche e finanziarie superiori, per la quale è prevalso l'interesse ad esaminarne funzioni e comportamenti in base all'indice di ricchezza⁷.

BOEGEHOLD - A.C. SCAFURO (edd.), *Athenian Identity and Civic Ideology*, Baltimore-London 1994, p. 34-44, la stessa ideologia civica ufficiale attenuava tensioni e confrontava diversità più a livello individuale che di gruppo.

⁶ Per i quali rimando alle conclusioni esposte da M.H. HANSEN in numerosi saggi, molti ora raccolti in *The Athenian Ecclesia*, I-II, Copenhagen 1983-1989, in particolare a *Rhetores and Strategoi in 4th Century Athens*, vol. II, p. 25-72, e addenda. Cfr. inoltre J. OBER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 332ss.

⁷ In merito alla partecipazione di singoli esponenti aristocratici alla vita politica ateniese vd. W.R. CONNOR, *The New Politicians of Fifth-Century Athens*, Princeton 1971, p. 9ss. (limitatamente al V sec. a.C.); E. STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 205ss., 224ss.; D. MUSTI, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 188ss.; per i rapporti tra élites di censo e di rango: J.K. DAVIES, *Athenian Propertied Families, 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971; ID., *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens*, New York 1981, p. 15ss., 88ss. M. OSTWALD, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law. Law, Society and Politics in Fifth-Century Athens*, Berkeley 1986, p. 185ss. In proposito non sono propensa a condividere fino in fondo le tesi di P. MACKENDRICK, *The Athenian Aristocracy 399 to 31 B.C.*, Cambridge (MA) 1969, in particolare p. 5ss., che prospetta un impoverimento generalizzato delle famiglie gentilizie ateniesi nel IV sec. Nella «propertied class» che l'autore individua in un'alta borghesia, egli stesso del resto mette in evidenza le alleanze politiche, i legami parentelari che uniscono ad una effettiva classe di nuovi ricchi l'antica aristocrazia nobile. Il ruolo di una élite timocratica in regime di democrazia solleva un problema che tocca marginalmente il tema che qui intendo sviluppare, ma che è fondamentale per fissare alcuni parametri dei comportamenti e delle forme mentali diffuse in età democratica. L'attenzione degli studi moderni si è fermata in particolare sulle manifestazioni di generosità pubblica spontanea e, soprattutto, organizzata (attraverso le liturgie e le sottoscrizioni pubbliche / ἐπιδόσεις) per definire le attitudini e i comportamenti di una classe distinta dai più per il possesso di mezzi superiori. Se da un lato le attestazioni di

Per quanto riguarda l'aristocrazia come ceto gentilizio, si pone l'accento su funzioni esclusive che le famiglie aristocratiche hanno conservato in campo religioso con attribuzioni di ordine sacerdotale, riconducendole al noto passo aristotelico secondo il quale Clistene non mutò l'antico assetto dei culti e dei sacerdozi gentilizi, sebbene interpretato ora come testimonianza del conservatorismo del riformatore, ora come il

generosità individuale sono state interpretate in termini di reciprocità con la gratitudine pubblica in vista di un consenso alla leadership (così ad es. Donlan, Davies) o del controllo del potere politico, da un altro mostrano anche che «democratic Athens was simultaneously anti-aristocratic in government and aristocratic in ethos... The aristocratic ethos never altogether disappeared in Athens» (Arnheim): cfr. W. DONLAN, *Reciprocity in Homer*, *CW* 75 (1982), p. 156; J.K. DAVIES, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth*, p. 88ss.; M.T.W. ARNHEIM, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 156. Cfr. anche J. TOLBERT ROBERTS, *Aristocratic Democracy: the Perseverance of Timocratic Principles in Athenian Government*, *Athenaeum* n.s. 64 (1986), p. 355-369. Occorre tuttavia tenere anche presente la dimensione limitata dello Stato ateniese, la sua organizzazione politica secondo la forma della democrazia diretta, le strutture e le modalità di partecipazione introdotte dalle riforme clisteniche. In questo sistema, che è stato rapportato al modello di una società «face-to-face» (M.I. FINLEY, *La democrazia degli antichi e dei moderni*, tr. it., Roma-Bari 1982², p. 30ss.; ID., *La politica nel mondo antico*, tr. it., Roma-Bari 1985, p. 43ss.; R. OSBORNE, «*Demos*»: *the Discovery of Classical Attica*, Cambridge 1985, p. 64ss.; J. OBER, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 31ss.), i rapporti intrapersonali creano una rete di solidarietà (e di rivalità) che intersecano la vita pubblica e politica, sconosciuta alle moderne democrazie rappresentative. La generosità pubblica dei ceti agiati può quindi più agevolmente essere vissuta in termini di rapporti intrapersonali come risposta non economica alle sperequazioni di censo e, entro un sistema di partecipazione politica ugualitaria, attenuare tensioni prodotte da un'ineguale distribuzione della ricchezza. Le liturgie hanno riprodotto i meccanismi delle munificenze arcaiche, ma ne sono profondamente mutate le finalità, i caratteri e le modalità ed è improprio interpretarle come testimonianza della persistenza di strutture aristocratiche che avrebbero creato le premesse di una «crisi» della democrazia ateniese del IV sec. (così, ad es. S. LAUFFER, in E.C. WELSKOPF [ed.], *Hellenische Poleis. Krise-Wandlung-Wirkung*, I, Berlin 1974, p. 147ss, su cui peraltro si vedano le obiezioni di J.K. DAVIES, *The Fourth Century Crisis: what Crisis?*, in W. EDER [ed.], *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Vollendung oder Verfall einer Verfassungsreform?*, in *Akten eines Symposiums 3.-7. August 1992 Bellagio*, Stuttgart 1995, p. 29-36). Analisi delle forme di munificenza in Ph. GAUTHIER, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (*BCH*, Suppl. XII), Paris 1985, p. 77ss.; L. MIGEOTTE, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, Genève-Québec 1992, in particolare p. 310ss. Escluderei pertanto che nell'Atene del V e del IV sec. si possa parlare di assimilazione a livello popolare di un ethos aristocratico, mentre è condivisibile l'opinione di C.G. STARR, *Aristocratic Temper* (n. 2), in partic. p. 69ss., a proposito di attitudini e mentalità che nel corso delle varie epoche hanno conformato i comportamenti e gli stili di vita dei ceti superiori. Tuttavia è forse più opportuno pensare ad una diversa articolazione delle stratificazioni sociali, alle nuove forme di solidarietà civica e alle risposte che esse sono in grado di offrire ai bisogni di una parte della cittadinanza, ma anche alle aspettative di gratificazione, prestigio e consenso delle fasce superiori della società. Cfr. G. DAVERIO ROCCHI, *Transformations de rôle dans les institutions d'Athènes au IVe siècle par rapport aux changements dans la société*, *DHA* 4 (1978), p. 33-50; EAD., *Città-stato e stati federali* (n. 3), p. 93ss.

risultato di un compromesso tra le parti⁸. Nelle prerogative sacerdotali viene riconosciuta l'affermazione di quei privilegi che hanno continuato a distinguere un ceto nobile, collocandolo su un piano diverso da quello etico-politico e accentuando la componente del prestigio. Pertanto la presenza di una élite nobile, insieme alle altre forme distintive che si riscontrano nella società ateniese, concorrerebbe a manifestare le contraddizioni della democrazia ateniese.

I

Io credo che meritino di essere riconsiderate quelle forme della partecipazione alla vita comunitaria che attestano lo svolgimento da parte di esponenti dell'aristocrazia nobile di servizi che possono essere definiti pubblici, sia in senso istituzionale, perché organizzati e controllati dallo Stato, sia in senso più generalizzato, in quanto di comune fruizione da parte dei cittadini. Esistono infatti competenze riservate all'élite nobile nelle quali è possibile riconoscere funzioni che appartengono al vissuto collettivo della società ateniese e che sono entrate a fare parte del suo sistema istituzionale. Di conseguenza non devono essere valutate nella sola prospettiva della permanenza di distinzioni esclusive, piuttosto fanno conoscere gli aspetti dell'adattamento di un intero ceto sociale ad un sistema politico per contenuti, finalità e attitudini antitetico ad un governo di ἄριστοι per diritto di nascita.

Relativamente ad alcuni incarichi pubblici infatti, l'appartenenza al ceto aristocratico ha costituito l'unico titolo per accedervi. A questo quadro sono da ricondurre alcune figure investite di autorità religiosa, ma che non possono essere assimilate ai sacerdoti, e che, rispetto a questi, risultano responsabili di compiti che non è possibile definire di ordine sacrale in senso stretto. Vorrei in particolare fermare la mia attenzione sulle due distinte categorie degli ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν e τῶν

⁸ Aristot., *Ath. Pol.* 21.6: (Clistene) conservò i γένη, le fratrie e i sacerdozi κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. Cfr. J. MARTHA, *Les sacerdoces athéniens*, Paris 1882; D.D. FEATHER, *The Priesthoods of Athens*, YCS 15 (1957), p. 125-138; D. ROUSSEL, *Tribu et cité. Études sur les groupes sociaux dans les cités grecques aux époques archaïque et classique*, Paris 1976, p. 65ss.; R.S.J. GARLAND, *Religious Authority in Archaic and Classical Athens*, *ABSA* 79 (1984), p. 75-123; M. OSTWALD, *Popular Sovereignty* (n. 7), p. 138ss.; M.L. ZUNINO, *Il sacerdote greco*, in M. VEGETTI (ed.), *L'esperienza religiosa antica*, III, Torino 1992, p. 85-100. Per il commento al passo aristotelico rimando a P.J. RHODES, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, p. 258-259.

Εὐπατριδῶν, per quegli aspetti che coniugano nella loro azione sapere religioso e sapere giuridico.

Di fatto i contenuti dell'attività di questo personale, esaminati a suo tempo da F. Jacoby e da J.H. Oliver⁹, fanno conoscere un settore di applicazione del diritto per il quale la definizione di sacrale con il quale si suole indicarlo, appare riduttiva, se viene limitata ad un complesso di norme attinenti ai rituali, alle cerimonie religiose della città, e generica se si tiene presente che pressoché ovunque nella Grecia antica — ed anche in Atene — nella religione sono stati elaborati momenti e occasioni che si legano al sistema civico e politico della società poleica.

Gli esegeti si qualificano come depositari di conoscenze normative in due specifici settori, che distinguono anche due diverse sfere d'azione. Svolgono attività interpretativa di norme sacrali, di rituali relativi a culti comuni all'intera comunità civica, e questo aspetto della loro azione è quello di più antica documentazione¹⁰. Ad essi si rivolgono inoltre, in base alle testimonianze letterarie che incominciano dai primi anni del IV sec., i cittadini, a titolo privato, per richiedere prestazioni di consulenza intese ad indicare norme di comportamento, a fornire chiarificazioni in ordine ad una normativa che attiene principalmente al campo della giustizia, relativamente a reati configurabili come sacrilegio, in primo luogo i reati di omicidio e di empietà, ma anche reati ambientali quale, ad esempio, l'inquinamento delle acque¹¹. Erano altresì consultati in mate-

⁹ Nonostante fondamentali divergenze in merito ai tempi della istituzione, un aspetto sul quale avrò occasione di ritornare più avanti, che hanno alimentato un dibattito proseguito a lungo. Cfr. F. JACOBY, *Atthis. The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens*, Oxford 1949, p. 9ss.; J.H. OLIVER, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, Baltimore 1950, p. 24ss. Si vedano inoltre M. OSTWALD, *The Prytaneion Decree Re-examined*, *AJPh* 72 (1951), p. 24-46; H. BLOCH, *The Exegetes of Athens and the Prytaneion Decree*, *AJPh* 74 (1953), p. 407-418; R.S.J. GARLAND, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 114ss.; ID., *Priests and Power*, in M. BEARD – J. NORTH (edd.), *Pagan Priests. Religion and Power in the Ancient World*, London 1990, p. 81-82; in particolare per gli ἐξεγεται τῶν Εὐμολπίδων, K. CLINTON, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries*, *TAPhS* N.S. 64.3 (1974), p. 89-93.

¹⁰ Il ricorso alla interpretazione degli esegeti degli Eumolpidi è deliberata in ordine ai sacrifici che accompagnano l'offerta delle primizie alle dee eleusine: *IG* I³ 78 (416/15 a.C.), II² 140 (353/52 a.C.). Gli esegeti, senza ulteriore specificazione (ma fondatamente, degli Eupatridi), sono consultati in relazione al restauro della statua di Athena Nike: *IG* II² 403 (metà IV sec. ca.).

¹¹ Is. VIII 38; [Dem.] XLVII, *In Euergum et Mnesibulum* 68; Theophr., *Char.* 16.6; Plat., *Euthyphro* 4B-E. Soprattutto nelle *Leggi* Platone assegna competenze di rilievo agli esegeti. *Leg.* IX 865B-D, 871A-D, 873D: gli esegeti intervengono in materia di reati di assassinio. Poiché noi sappiamo che il progetto di città elaborato dal filosofo in quest'opera si ispira in molte occasioni a istituzioni e pratiche vigenti in Atene, queste

ria di diritto di proprietà, di diritto successorio e familiare¹². In questo settore della consultazione da parte di privati emergono con maggior evidenza i contenuti giuridici e la componente «secolare» dell'attività esegetica. La figura ufficiale di esegeta, in data posteriore al IV sec. a.C., è attestata da testimonianze epigrafiche che fanno esplicito riferimento alla nomina da parte dell'ecclesia¹³.

La complementarità tra dimensione sacrale e giuridica del loro sapere si ricava anche dalle definizioni degli autori dell'antichità che parlano di τὰ πάτρια, τὰ ἱερὰ, τὰ νόμιμα e di νόμοι. Nella cosiddetta costituzione di Teseo, esposta nella vita plutarchea del mitico re di Atene¹⁴, l'esegesi deve esplicitare τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσια e costituisce uno dei doveri imposti dal re agli Eupatridi, complementare (ma distinto) alla conoscenza delle cose sacre e al ruolo di «maestri» delle leggi: Εὐπατρίδαι δὲ γινώσκειν τὰ θεῖα καὶ παρέχειν ἄρχοντας ἀποδοῦς καὶ νόμων διδάσκαλους εἶναι καὶ δσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγητάς.

Il passo fornisce diversi livelli di informazione. Questi compiti si concentrano nella prima delle tre fasce in cui Teseo divide la società ateniese, la stessa cui il re assegnò anche l'obbligo di fornire i magistrati. Il ruolo di interpreti degli ἱερὰ e degli ὅσια e di esperti di diritto è limitata ad una élite che assomma superiorità di rango, di potere e di sapere. La conoscenza delle cose sacre risulta una prerogativa separata rispetto alla esegesi e non può, a mio avviso, che riferirsi al ministero dei culti e delle cerimonie di competenza dei sacerdoti.

Il binomio τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσια che Plutarco impiega per definire la materia che gli Eupatridi devono interpretare, ricorre nella letteratura del V e del IV sec., come pure in alcune definizioni della lessicografia con significati di cui, sebbene con sfumature differenti, la critica moderna ha riconosciuto, separatamente o congiuntamente: le connessioni con pratiche culturali e/o con una cultura pregiuridica radicata nel sacro, le rela-

testimonianze possono assumere valenza storicamente affidabile per ricostruire tutte o una parte delle competenze degli esegeti al tempo del filosofo. Si vedano in proposito le considerazioni di F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 20ss., 248 n. 50 (sebbene, nel complesso, l'A. ritenga sovraesposto il ruolo da Platone assegnato agli esegeti); J.H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 53ss.; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *The Exegetai in Plato's Law, CQ* 73 (1952), p. 4-12. Per un confronto tra la democrazia ateniese e le Leggi platoniche cfr. G.R. MORROW, *Plato's Cretan City. A Historical Interpretation of the Laws*, Princeton 1960; M. PIERART, *Platon et la cité grèque. Théorie et réalité dans la constitution des Lois*, Bruxelles 1974.

¹² Is. VIII 38ss. La consulenza dell'esegeta è richiesta per stabilire i diritti di erede legittimo.

¹³ *FD* III 2, nn. 5, 6, 59, 60; *IG* II² 5049.

¹⁴ *Plut., Thes.* 25.2.

zioni con gli ordinamenti giuridici della città, ma anche lo spessore etico che ispira norme e comportamenti sociali. Si tratta in sostanza di un'articolazione di nozioni coordinate che conciliano concezioni e definizioni prepolitiche con le norme statuali–autoritative del diritto poleico e che nei differenti contesti hanno avuto un uso istituzionale o ideologico¹⁵. Indirettamente questa associazione formulare vale a palesare l'alto profilo morale richiesto al personale qualificato all'esegesi, come pure le responsabilità che ne discendono. La sua applicazione alla attività degli esegeti nel contesto del passo plutarco rimanda palesemente alla valenza istituzionale e delimita l'ambito operativo alla interpretazione di un sistema normativo scisso in due componenti complementari ma autonome nel contenuto¹⁶.

Una glossa di Esichio¹⁷ definisce gli esegeti ὅσιοι ed equipara questo attributo a καθαροί, δίκαιοι, εὐσεβεῖς. Seppure con le cautele che la distanza qualitativa e cronologica delle due testimonianze impone, si deve peraltro rilevare un campo semantico in cui l'aggettivo ὅσιος assimila i contenuti operativi dell'azione esegetica sia in relazione alla sfera sacrale che a quella giuridico–normativa. Pertanto il binomio τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσια, quando riferito alla materia sottoposta alla consulenza degli esegeti, può essere considerato omologo alla formula τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ πάτρια che viene attribuita alla materia sottoposta alla interpretazione degli esegeti in una testimonianza epigrafica¹⁸.

Si deve infine considerare la dissociazione tra il ruolo di ὁσίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταί e quello di νόμων διδάσκαλοι che il testo plutarco conserva relativamente all'azione degli Eupatridi.

¹⁵ Cfr. A. MAFFI, *Tὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὅσια. Contributo allo studio della terminologia giuridico-sacrale greca*, in *Symposion 1977. Vorträge zur griechischen Rechtsgeschichte*, edd. J. MODRZEJEWSKI – D. LIEBS (AGR, 3), Köln–Wien 1982, p. 33–53 (di cui accolgo i risultati in merito alla distinzione tra uso istituzionale e uso ideologico di ὅσιος nelle fonti attiche del V e del IV sec.); W.R. CONNOR, «Sacred» and «Secular». *Ἱερὰ καὶ ὅσια and the Classical Athenian Concept of the State*, *AncSoc* 19 (1988), p. 161–188 (con maggiore accento sulle connessioni tra ὅσιος e δίκαιος).

¹⁶ L'uso istituzionale e l'autonomia delle due nozioni è confermato dal lessico pubblico ed ufficiale della città. Le leggi impongono che due sessioni della ecclesia siano destinate a discutere tre questioni relative agli ἱερὰ, tre agli ὅσια. Cfr. Aristot., *Ath. Pol.* 43.6; Aesch. I, *C. Tim.* 23. Secondo Polluce (VIII 96) nella quarta ecclesia.

¹⁷ Hesych. s.v. ἐξηγηταί.

¹⁸ *IG* II² 3490 (I sec. a.C.). Omologia accettata da J. H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 47, su cui peraltro condivido le perplessità di A. MAFFI, in *Symposion 1977*, p. 46–47 e n. 32, ad identificare gli ἱερὰ καὶ ὅσια con un sistema legislativo contrapposto al diritto della polis. Sull'argomento ritornerò nelle pagine seguenti.

Nelle definizioni dei lessicografi della tarda antichità la figura di interprete delle cose sacre (οἱ ἐξηγούμενοι τὰ ἱερά) e quella di esperto di diritto (ἔμπειρος τῶν νόμων) sono unificate sotto il titolo di esegeta, anche con indicazioni accessorie in merito alle finalità e ai metodi della consulenza. In una testimonianza relativa all'esegesi giuridica, si precisa che gli esegeti, in quanto esperti di diritto, hanno il compito di spiegare le leggi a coloro che in merito non hanno alcuna conoscenza¹⁹: οἱ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς ἄγνοοῦσι διδάσκοντες. La definizione conservata dal *Lexikon Rhetorikon* giunge a precisare una distinzione tra la διήγησις, che ogni individuo è in grado di produrre a titolo personale (ἰδιῶται ἄνδρες) su accadimenti occasionali, e la esegesi riservata agli esperti delle leggi²⁰: ἐξηγητὴς οὖν ὁ τοὺς νόμους ἐξηγούμενος καὶ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν πράγμα. Διήγησις ἐξηγήσεως διαφέρει. Διηγούνται μὲν ἰδιῶται ἄνδρες περὶ τῶν προστυχόντων, ἐξηγούνται δὲ οἱ τῶν νόμων ἔμπειροι περὶ ὧν προσῆκε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. L'uso ricorrente del verbo διδάσκειν per qualificare le modalità dell'azione²¹ sembra palesare la funzione riconosciuta di istruire coloro che ricorrono alla loro consultazione e di conseguenza il possesso di un sapere esclusivo inaccessibile ai più e ricalca l'attribuzione plutarchea di νόμων διδασκαλοί.

Sappiamo che nella costituzione di Teseo elementi storici riconducibili all'arcaismo si sono mescolati con versioni erudite e filosofiche posteriori e che la validità delle testimonianze conservate dalla tarda lessicografia è spesso compromessa dalla difficoltà a circostanziare storicamente la notizia e a risalire alla sua fonte²². È tuttavia interessante che si sia conservata la memoria di una distinzione tra un'attività attinente alla sfera religiosa — e che comprende anche norme di diritto sacrale — e un'esperienza nel settore del diritto di cui l'aristocrazia aveva la prerogativa di fornire i soli maestri riconosciuti.

¹⁹ *Etym. M.* s.v. ἐξηγηταί.

²⁰ *Lex. Rhet.* 252.4; 241.20.

²¹ Seppure in riferimento all'ambito sacro, anche Polluce usa questo verbo per qualificare la consulenza esegetica. Cfr. Poll. VIII 124.

²² L'opinione prevalente sembra accettare la presenza nel passo plutarcheo sulla costituzione di Teseo di un nucleo storico, che tuttavia non ha come fonte né l'*Athenaion Politeia* aristotelica, né gli attidografi. Si veda in proposito la discussione in F. JACOBY, *Atthis*, p. 18 e n. 49 (cap. II §2). La storicità di un nucleo storico è accettata ad es. da G. DE SANCTIS, *Atthis. Storia della repubblica ateniese dalle origini all'età di Pericle*, Firenze 1975³, p. 337ss.; P.J. RHODES, *Commentary* (n. 8), p. 183-184. Esposizione critica della questione e bibliografia in C. AMPOLO - M. MANFREDINI (edd.), *Plutarco, Le vite di Teseo e di Romolo*, Milano 1988, p. 238. Per le testimonianze dei lessicografi rimando al commento di F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 250ss.

Le competenze pertinenti ai comportamenti ed alle procedure da seguire nello svolgimento di rituali specifici, e che più attengono alla sfera religiosa, già nell'antichità tendevano a confondere gli esegeti con i sacerdoti, in particolare l'attività interpretativa li assimilava a χρησμολόγοι e μάντεις. La difficoltà a separarli dalle figure sacerdotali dipende in parte dal fatto che anche i sacerdoti svolgevano servizi per e a nome dello Stato, possedevano conoscenze e competenze nella applicazione di norme culturali e appartenevano a famiglie gentilizie²³. Ma gli esegeti non celebravano cerimonie religiose, anche se in talune circostanze vi presenziavano, e si limitavano a dettarne in via preliminare, dietro esplicita richiesta, procedure e rituali. In contrasto con la trasmissione ereditaria dei sacerdozi all'interno di singole famiglie, il ruolo di esegeti era elettivo e strutturato nelle due categorie gentilizie degli esegeti degli Eupatridi e degli Eumolpidi²⁴.

II

Più delineata risulta invece la dimensione giuridica, dove la consultazione degli esegeti viene configurata come un'azione distinta, qualche volta in conflitto, altre volte complementare agli obblighi imposti dai νόμοι della città. La distinzione investe in primo luogo il rapporto del cittadino con il diritto.

Nell'orazione *Sui Misteri* Andocide afferma con sicurezza l'incompatibilità tra il νόμος πάτριος degli Eumolpidi e la legge incisa sulla stele, esponendo le differenti sanzioni previste dall'uno e dall'altra (più severo il primo)²⁵. La formulazione del passo rivela altresì una distinzione formale tra una legislazione «visibile» (le leggi ufficiali della polis trascritte su supporti esposti pubblicamente) e tradizioni legislative affidate a sistemi di trasmissione alternativi.

Più esplicitamente nella *C. Andocide* [Lisia] fa conoscere come vigenti sia i νόμοι γεγραμμένοι, sia i νόμοι ἄγραφοι oggetto della

²³ Cfr. bibliogr. cit. n. 8.

²⁴ Vd. oltre p. 20ss.

²⁵ Andoc. I, *De Myst.* 115-116. La legge degli Eumolpidi prevede per il reato di Andocide la pena di morte, le leggi civili stabiliscono un'ammenda di 1000 dracme. Analisi del passo in F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 18ss., 244ss.; J.H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 18ss.; K. CLINTON, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 93; M. OSTWALD, *Popular Sovereignty* (n. 7), p. 163ss. Al medesimo νόμος πάτριος potrebbe riferirsi il contesto dell'episodio riportato da [Lys.] VI, *C. Andoc.* 54.

esegesi degli Eumolpidi²⁶. In questa testimonianza M. Ostwald ritiene di riconoscere il primo esplicito contrasto tra le due forme di legislazione²⁷. In realtà in questo passo dell'orazione viene ribadita l'esortazione di Pericle ad applicare agli ἀσεβεῖς due tipi di sanzione: quella prevista dalle leggi scritte e quelle stabilite appunto dagli ἄγραφοι νόμοι degli Eumolpidi. Il riferimento dell'oratore conferisce uno spessore storicamente circostanziato ad un passo del λόγος ἐπιτάφιος, nel quale Tucidide fa dire a Pericle che un sentimento di rispetto impedisce agli Ateniesi di trasgredire le leggi, sia quelle che proteggono le vittime dalle ingiustizie, sia le leggi non scritte che procurano ai trasgressori una vergogna da tutti riconosciuta²⁸.

Il medesimo dualismo era già stato sollevato nell'*Antigone* sofoclea, dove gli ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῇ θεῶν νόμιμα imponevano obblighi incompatibili con le leggi della città²⁹. Vi è in questi versi un esplicito riferimento a norme di ordine religioso³⁰ apparentemente in dissonanza con le testimonianze di Andocide e di [Lisia] che riflettono la situazione di fine V e di inizio IV sec., ma ritengo opportuno unirli alla testimonianza dell'epitafio pericleo per sottolineare in particolare due aspetti: (a) alla metà del V sec.

²⁶ [Lys.] VI, C. *Andoc.* 10: Καίτοι Περικλέα ποτέ φασι παραινέσαι ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἀσεβούντων μὴ μόνον χρῆσθαι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις νόμοις περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγράφοις, καθ' οὓς Εὐμολπίδα ἐξηγοῦνται [κτλ.]. Cfr. V. EHRENBURG, *Sophocles and Pericles*, Oxford 1954, p. 44ss.

²⁷ M. OSTWALD, *Was there a Concept ἄγραφος νόμος in Classical Greece?*, in E.N. LEE — A.P.D. MOURELATOS — R.M. RORTY (edd.), *Exegesis and Argument: Studies in Greek Philosophy presented to G. Vlastos*, Assen 1973, p. 70-104, spec. 89ss.

²⁸ Thuc. II 37.2:... οὐ παρανομοῦμεν,... τῶν νόμων,... καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογοῦμένην φέρουσιν. In questa prospettiva, sia pure in un contesto che pone attenzione alle opinioni e ai valori della società ateniese, non credo che Tucidide abbia inteso esclusivamente indicare con ἄγραφοι νόμοι comportamenti morali sollecitati da pressioni sociali, come ritiene M. OSTWALD, *ἄγραφος νόμος* (n. 27), p. 86ss. Se si tratta, come è probabile, dei πάτρια trasmessi attraverso l'esegesi, occorrerebbe rivedere le conclusioni di J.H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 105, che adduceva la mancanza di riferimenti agli esegeti nell'opera tucididea, come prova della loro istituzione dopo il 403 a.C. Cfr. anche H. BLOCH, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 410.

²⁹ Soph., *Antig.* 454-455.

³⁰ M. OSTWALD, *ἄγραφος νόμος* (n. 27), p. 83ss., indirizza l'attenzione sul lessico sofocleo: l'uso di νόμιμα, contrapposto a νόμοι, che dal 442 a.C. era il termine usato per indicare le leggi scritte, paleserebbe la consapevolezza dell'A. (e del suo pubblico) della distinzione tra i diversi livelli delle due normative. Non posso invece condividere la conclusione che τὰ νόμιμα (e forme affini come τὰ νομιζόμενα) dopo il 442 fu il termine applicato dagli autori a tutte le regole e prescrizioni diverse dalle leggi scritte (i νόμοι per eccellenza) proprio per distinguere le une e le altre. Come avrò occasione di esporre nelle pagine seguenti, le testimonianze provenienti dalla letteratura del V e del IV sec. ed anche oltre non corroborano questa assoluta e rigorosa distinzione semantica.

l'opinione pubblica era sensibile al problema sollevato dalla tragedia della conflittualità che può sorgere a livello di comportamento individuale tra la normativa poleica e forme prescrittive di natura diversa, alle quali Sofocle conferiva validità autoritativa tramite la fonte divina e di cui, come è adombrato dalla testimonianza tucididea, l'aristocrazia degli Eupatridi e degli Eumolpidi tramandava la memoria; (b) che alla fine del secolo il contrasto appare riproposto con una tensione più acuta, che dal piano del comportamento individuale si sposta alle sedi giudiziarie.

Giustamente, nell'analisi dei versi dell'*Antigone* M. Ostwald nota che il conflitto investe gli obblighi verso la legge della polis, che include anche la religione di Stato (che proibisce di seppellire i traditori nel suolo della patria) e quelli verso la famiglia (che impongono doveri religiosi verso i suoi membri)³¹. Tuttavia non è possibile stabilire con sicurezza se gli ἄγραπτα θεῶν νόμιμα siano le leggi amministrate dalle famiglie per i loro membri³² o i πάτρια collettivi degli Eupatridi o degli Eumolpidi. Si può peraltro osservare che norme, procedure e rituali attinenti alla sepoltura dei propri familiari figurano tra la materia sottoposta alla consulenza degli esegeti delle *Leggi* platoniche³³.

Nel secolo successivo Demostene³⁴ descrive la fase processuale relativa alla incriminazione per ἀσέβεια, che in successione prevede la prosecuzione in tribunale, preliminare e distinta dal processo davanti agli Eumolpidi e conclusa dalla comparizione davanti all'arconte *basileus*: τῆς ἀσεβείας κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπάγειν, γράφεσθαι, δικάζεσθαι πρὸς Εὐμολπίδας, φράζειν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

In un'orazione attribuita all'oratore ed inserita nel *Corpus Demosthenicum* l'autore dice di essersi rivolto al consiglio degli amici dopo avere ascoltato gli esegeti e dopo avere guardato le leggi di Draconte sulla stele³⁵: ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐγὼ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐπισκεψάμενος τοὺς τοῦ Δράκοντος ἐκ τῆς στήλης, ἐβουλευόμην μετὰ τῶν φίλων [κτλ]. Sostanzialmente [Demostene] applica una procedura che scandisce in una sequenza complementare due azioni che Andocide proponeva in chiave antitetica.

La distinzione tra legislazione scritta ed orale secondo questo gruppo di testimonianze si colloca a due livelli. Vi è innanzi tutto una distin-

³¹ M. OSTWALD, *Popular Sovereignty* (n. 7), p. 148ss.

³² Così M. OSTWALD, *Popular Sovereignty* (n. 7), p. 161.

³³ Plat., *Leg.* XII 958D.

³⁴ Dem. XXII, *C. Androt.* 27

³⁵ [Dem.] XLVII, *In Euergum et Mnesibulum* 68.

zione di forma tra redazione scritta e trasmissione orale. Ad essa si aggiungono differenze nelle modalità della divulgazione. Mentre l'accesso ai νόμοι scritti è diretto, perché chiunque può di persona leggerli sulle stele pubblicamente esposte, la consultazione dei νόμοι ἄγραφοι si attua solo attraverso la mediazione di personale specializzato e prevede un'azione orale³⁶. Sostanzialmente nel V e nel IV sec. a.C. entrambe le legislazioni, scritta ed orale, almeno limitatamente ai settori attestati dalla tradizione letteraria, erano applicate³⁷. Da questo non credo che si debba necessariamente configurare una opposizione tra diritto sacro, di competenza degli esegeti, e diritto secolare, affidato ad organismi giuridico-amministrativi, oppure assimilare le leggi non scritte al diritto ancestrale, depositario dei πάτρια (o πάτριον νόμοι) contrapposto alle leggi della città³⁸. La materia su cui gli esegeti intervengono, soprattutto in relazione a mancanze e a reati di cittadini, ha un carattere secolare, ma occorre altresì precisare che ogni reato di ἀσέβεια, ha un lato religioso³⁹. Per contro anche la legislazione scritta e

³⁶ Considero ovviamente gli ἄγραφοι νόμοι limitatamente a quella parte del diritto non scritto che risulta di pertinenza degli esegeti. Per una trattazione organica delle molteplici nozioni (che vanno oltre il campo delle norme giuridico-statuali) espresse da ἄγραφος νόμος rimando a R. HIRZEL, *Agraphos Nomos* (*Abh. der philol.-historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 20.1), Leipzig 1900; ID., *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rechtsidee bei den Griechen*, Leipzig 1907; H.J. WOLFF, *Normenkontrolle und Gesetzbegriff in der attischen Demokratie* (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelb. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Philos.-historische Klasse*, 1970. 2); J. DE ROMILLY, *La loi dans la pensée grecque*, Paris 1971; M. OSTWALD, *Ἄγραφος νόμος* (n. 27), cui mi sono già richiamata nelle pagine precedenti.

³⁷ La consapevolezza che la legislazione dello Stato comprendeva leggi scritte e non scritte era presente alla riflessione teorica del IV sec. Secondo Aristotele, l'uso ed il rispetto dei νόμοι ἄγραφοι e γεγραμμένοι è il tratto distintivo dell'uomo migliore. Aristot., *Rhet.* I 15, 1375b7-8:... ὅτι βελτίονος ἀνδρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀγράφοις ἢ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐμμένειν. Cfr. Plat., *Pol.* 298D (dove viene privilegiata la tradizione ancestrale delle leggi scritte); *Leg.* VII 793A-B. Aristotele afferma inoltre che leggi scritte ed orali dovrebbero essere entrambe preservate. Cfr. Aristot., *Pol.* VI 5, 1319b40ss.

³⁸ Cfr. R. HIRZEL, *Agraphos Nomos* (n. 36), p. 32ss.; ID., *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Rechtsidee bei den Griechen*, p. 158ss.; V. EHRENBURG, *Sophocles and Pericles* (n. 26), p. 46; J. DE ROMILLY, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 26ss., sebbene in una prospettiva evoluzionistica dove gli ἄγραφοι νόμοι, da codice etico legittimato dal carattere di sanzioni divine, verrebbero reinventati nel V sec. come leggi morali «fondate sulla coscienza umana». Anche D.M. MACDOWELL, *The Law of Classical Athens*, Ithaca-New York 1977, p. 192ss., delimita alla sfera della religione i compiti degli esegeti, non considerandone le competenze che investono altri settori del diritto; R.S.J. GARLAND, *Priests and Power* (n. 8), p. 82. Sulla improponibilità della antitesi tra sacro e profano nella Grecia classica si vedano le riflessioni di A. MAFFI, in *Symposion* 1977, p. 46ss.; W.R. CONNOR, *art. cit.* (n. 15), p. 161ss.

³⁹ Cfr. F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 22ss.

ancora vigente alla fine del V sec. contemplava norme che disciplinavano materia di ordine sacrale⁴⁰.

Le stesse aree semantiche relative alla legislazione scritta ed orale non autorizzano distinzioni radicali di contenuto. Accanto ai *πάτρια* degli esegeti tramandati oralmente, si devono considerare i *πάτρια* conservati dalla legislazione scritta, così come il binomio *τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ὄσια*, che nella vita plutarchea di Teseo definisce il contenuto della esegesi degli Eupatridi, contempla anche una sezione dei νόμοι γεγραμμένοι secondo un'indicazione di Lisia⁴¹.

Piuttosto, gli esegeti operavano in due campi distinti (anche se coordinati), in uno più propriamente collegato ai *sacra* della città, e in uno attinente al diritto. In quest'ultimo settore sussistono palesi discrepanze tra il V ed il IV secolo. Le testimonianze del V secolo, dalla tragedia sofoclea ad Andocide, manifestano una tensione inconciliabile e crescente nel corso del tempo tra leggi scritte ed orali, che non appare nel secolo successivo, quando l'attività degli esegeti viene presentata come complementare agli interventi delle magistrature poliadi.

Per il momento vorrei sottolineare tre aspetti inerenti ai νόμοι ἄγραφοι affidati alla consulenza degli esegeti: (a) la conservazione di un sapere giuridico trasmesso oralmente, coerente, del resto, con la permanenza di forme di oralità in altri settori della vita pubblica, religiosa e culturale di Atene; (b) il loro carattere esclusivo che richiede il possesso di conoscenze specialistiche, ma anche di strumenti conoscitivi e di esperienza adeguati sia alla trasmissione orale, sia alla divulgazione destinata ad un largo pubblico; (c) il ruolo di tramite esercitato da una categoria di interpreti tra la legge e i suoi fruitori, mantenutosi all'interno di un sistema che privilegiava la partecipazione diretta del cittadino ai momenti più qualificanti della vita cittadina e che riconosceva nella esposizione delle leggi in luoghi di comune frequentazione, dove tutti potevano «vederle», una delle manifestazioni della democrazia⁴².

⁴⁰ Lys. XXX, *C. Nicom.* 18: «... i nostri antenati sacrificavano secondo le tavole» (οἱ τοῖνυν πρόγονοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν κύρβων θύοντες).

⁴¹ Andoc. I, *De Myst.* 83-86. Il decreto di Teisamenos, riportato nell'orazione, indica come *patria* la legislazione di Draconte e di Solone. Nicomaco è definito da Lisia ὃς καὶ τῶν ὀσίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναγραφεὺς γενόμενος (XXX, *C. Nicom.* 25). Cfr. M. OSTWALD, *Popular Sovereignty* (n. 7), p. 146: i *πάτρια* si riferiscono a norme tradizionali, ma non necessariamente limitate a leggi sacrali.

⁴² Sul carattere democratico della pubblicizzazione delle leggi si veda D. MUSTI, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 63ss., 198ss. S.C. Todd, formulando un'ipotesi meritevole di approfondimento, si interroga su una possibile assimilazione degli esegeti a «protogiuristi», ramma-

III

L'aristocrazia nobiliare, in virtù di conoscenze conservate per tradizione ancestrale e risalenti a funzioni nell'ambito dell'amministrazione della giustizia che i nobili avevano esercitato in età presoloniana, si proponeva come la depositaria «naturale» di questo patrimonio. Questo dà una prima, ovvia risposta alla scelta degli esegeti tra i nobili di Atene⁴³, ma solleva alcuni interrogativi in merito al ruolo dell'aristocrazia all'età della democrazia. In particolare, la qualifica di ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν Εὐπατριδῶν e ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν Εὐμολπιδῶν spinge ad interrogarsi, prima ancora che sulla assegnazione dell'incarico ad esponenti di famiglie nobiliari, sul riconoscimento ufficiale di una distinzione di nascita come base di legittimazione allo svolgimento di uffici previsti dal sistema della democrazia. Io non credo che sia sufficiente spiegarlo con la notizia aristotelica che Clistene conservò i γένη, le fratrie, i sacerdoti κατὰ τὰ πάτρια⁴⁴, limitando ad una sfera sacrale il ruolo degli esegeti e circoscrivendo ad un diritto ancestrale e contrapposto alle leggi della città la materia su cui vengono consultati, perché si confonde con una differenza di contenuto quella che è in primo luogo una distinzione di forma e di ruoli.

Una testimonianza di Aristotele, confermata da un passo plutarco della biografia di Solone (che dipende da una fonte differente), sembra palesare la distinzione di ruoli tra legislatore ed esegeta facendola risalire ad età predemocratica. La ἀποδημία di Solone fu dettata, secondo Aristotele e la tradizione raccolta da Plutarco⁴⁵, dalla convinzione che non era giusto rimanere in Atene e spiegare ai concittadini che lo sollecitavano in tal senso, le norme che aveva promulgato, ritenendo che ognuno dovesse mettere in pratica le leggi scritte (οὐ γὰρ οἷεσθαι δίκαιον εἶναι τοὺς νόμους ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρών, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τὰ

ricandosi che le poche testimonianze disponibili (ma le sue citazioni sono incomplete) non consentano conclusioni probanti in questa direzione. Cfr. S.C. TODD, *The Shape of Athenian Law*, Oxford 1995, p. 31ss. Vd. *infra*, p. 24 e n. 64.

⁴³ Cfr. R. HIRZEL, *Agraphos Nomos* (n. 36), p. 44ss.; J. DE ROMILLY, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 45ss.

⁴⁴ *Ath. Pol.* 21.5. Vd. *supra*, n. 8.

⁴⁵ Aristot., *Ath. Pol.* 11.1; cfr. Plut., *Sol.* 25.6, che a ἐξεγεῖσθαι sostituisce ἐπεκδιδάσκειν. Sulla indipendenza della tradizione aristotelica e plutarca (la cui fonte è molto probabilmente Ermippo, che attinge agli attidografi), cfr. P.J. RHODES, *Commentary* (n. 8), p. 169ss.; M. MANFREDINI - L. PICCIRILLI (edd.), *Plutarco, La vita di Solone*, Milano 1990³, p. 263ss.

γεγραμμένα ποιεῖν). In altri termini Solone rifiutava il ruolo di esegeta e stabiliva le distanze e le specificità tra l'azione di promulgare un codice di leggi scritte e l'attività di interpretare νόμοι ἄγγραφοι. Sebbene si debbano tenere presenti le caratteristiche topiche del racconto, il testo sembra tuttavia manifestare una novità di comportamento rispetto a tradizioni consolidate, facendo risalire quindi l'interpretazione delle leggi a prassi che appartengono al regime aristocratico di epoca presoloniana⁴⁶.

L'articolazione nelle due categorie di esegeti degli Eumolpidi e degli Eupatridi⁴⁷ non può che essere posteriore all'annessione di Eleusi allo Stato ateniese. Le indicazioni dell'epitafio pericleo e di [Lisia] ricordate nelle pagine precedenti attestano che era sicuramente stabilizzata intorno o poco dopo la metà del V sec. a.C. Vale forse la pena di ricordare che la σίτησις al pritaneo, concessa agli esegeti insieme agli eredi dei tirannicidi e agli atleti vincitori, si colloca in una data più o meno contemporanea⁴⁸. Alla medesima epoca appartiene l'unica testimonianza del V sec. relativa alla figura di un singolo esegeta, Lampon, di cui è altresì nota l'appartenenza al ceto degli Eupatridi⁴⁹.

È fuori di dubbio che la distinzione conserva il ricordo del dualismo che accompagnò la storia dei rapporti tra Atene ed Eleusi e che mantenne peculiari specificità in ambito culturale. Ma in materia di reati di empietà l'autorità degli Eumolpidi si estendeva a tutti i cittadini⁵⁰. Di conseguenza io sarei incline a ritenere che in relazione alla esegesi che più attiene alla sfera del diritto, la separazione tra le competenze delle due categorie di esegeti sia andata attestandosi in base alla ripartizione della materia su cui essi erano chiamati a fornire la loro consulenza e non escluderei che possa rappresentare il risultato di un processo di uni-

⁴⁶ Sugli aspetti topic della ἀποδημία di legislatori e sulle cause della volontaria partenza di Solone vd. la discussione critica (con la bibliografia relativa) in M. MANFREDINI - L. PICCIRILLI (citati alla nota precedente), p. 263ss.

⁴⁷ I primi appartenenti alla nota e importante famiglia eleusinia, i secondi esponenti del ceto aristocratico nella sua totalità. Su questa distinzione credo non vi sia nulla da aggiungere dopo le conclusioni di Jacoby e Oliver. Cfr. F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 8ss.; J.H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 18ss. Inoltre: M. OSTWALD, *Prytaneion Decree* (n. 9), p. 24, 66; K. CLINTON, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 258ss.; R.S.J. GARLAND, *Religious Authority* (n. 8), p. 75ss.

⁴⁸ IG I³ 131.

⁴⁹ Si tratta di Lampon, ἐξηγητὴς ἐκ Εὐπατριδῶν secondo Eupoli, fr. 297 Kock.

⁵⁰ In questo senso si vedano i passi dell'epitafio pericleo (Thuc. II 37.2), e le indicazioni di [Lisia] (VI, *C. Andoc.* 10) e di Andocide (I, *De Myst.* 115-116), esaminati nelle pagine precedenti.

ficazione, sotto le due denominazioni, dei *patria* delle singole famiglie nobiliari, come risposta, ancora parziale e non formalizzata in ruoli istituzionali, ai conflitti di autorità tra leggi della famiglia e leggi dello Stato (adombrati dalla tragedia sofoclea, da [Lisia], più esplicitamente da Andocide) e come premessa ad una divulgazione aperta a tutti i cittadini⁵¹.

Questo quadro appare mutato alle soglie del secolo successivo e nel complesso sembra indicare un processo in atto di istituzionalizzazione della figura di esegeta, concomitante alla meglio documentata ristrutturazione del sistema legislativo. Tra i νόμοι introdotti contestualmente alla revisione dei codici di Draconte e di Solone affidata a commissioni di νομοθέται in base al decreto di Teisamenos, Andocide⁵² menziona la legge che interdice ai magistrati di ricorrere agli ἄγραφοι νόμοι. Il divieto risulta mirato (divieto ai magistrati) e non prevede una illegalità generalizzata delle leggi non scritte⁵³. D'altra parte, il passo già citato di [Lisia]⁵⁴ in merito alle leggi degli Eumolpidi parla di νόμοι che nessuno ha l'autorità di abrogare o l'audacia di trasgredire (... οὐς οὐδεὶς πω κύριος ἐγένετο καθελεῖν, οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησεν ἀντειπεῖν, [κτλ]). Se ne può dedurre che nel contesto della revisione legislativa successiva alla restaurazione democratica del 403, si procedette anche a definire le rispettive sfere di applicazione delle leggi scritte e di quelle tramandate oralmente. Il fatto che la documentazione più cospicua in merito all'attività esegetica risulti posteriore a questa data autorizza a ritenere che

⁵¹ L'assenza di ruoli istituzionali rende legittima la qualifica di esegeta che la commedia e gli scolasti attribuiscono a Lampon accanto a quella di *mantis* e che alcuni studiosi mettono in discussione. Cfr. I. BEKKER, *Anecd. Gr.* I 96; *Lex. Suid.*, s.v. Θουριομέντεις. La qualifica di esegeta è negata da J.H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 26ss. Cfr. inoltre M. OSTWALD, *Prytaneion Decree* (n. 9), p. 24-46, spec. 40ss.; H. BLOCH, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 408ss. La tensione tra diritto familiare e statale, ma anche il processo di divulgazione delle tradizioni ancestrali della famiglia sembra trovare una conferma nella pubblicazione, intorno alla metà del V sec., dei *patria* dei Praxiergidai. Cfr. *IG I³ 7*, per il quale rimando al commento di M. OSTWALD, *Popular Sovereignty* (n. 7), p. 145-148.

⁵² Andoc. I, *De Myst.* 85.

⁵³ Non condivido l'opinione di A.R.W. HARRISON, *Law-making at Athens at the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, *JHS* 75 (1955), p. 26-35 (seguita anche da M. OSTWALD, *ἄγραφος νόμος* [n. 27], p. 100ss.), che alla definizione di ἄγραφοι νόμοι secondo le disposizioni del 399 siano da ricondurre tutti i provvedimenti normativi non contemplati dai νόμοι entrati nel codice revisionato e che quindi ἄγραφος stia ad indicare, sostanzialmente, la «invalidità» della legge. Ma altrove Ostwald distingue i νόμοι ἄγραφοι, in quanto non compresi dalle leggi in vigore secondo le prescrizioni del decreto di Teisamenos, dai νόμοι ἄγραφοι = la legislazione orale, alla quale appartengono le leggi degli Eumolpidi citate da Andoc. I, *De Myst.* 115-116 (*Popular Sovereignty*, p. 165ss.).

⁵⁴ [Lys.] vi, *C. Andoc.* 10.

anch'essa sia stata investita da una radicale ristrutturazione. Vale la pena di notare che all'anno 399, in cui il processo di Andocide sollevava la questione del conflitto tra leggi scritte ed orali, risale anche la prima menzione di un esegeta ufficiale nell'*Eutifrone* di Platone⁵⁵.

In questa prospettiva, la testimonianza delle *Leggi* platoniche, con i riferimenti alla δοκιμασία degli esegeti, al loro ruolo speculari a quello dei νομοφύλακες, anziché costituire una sovraesposizione della funzione, conserva interessanti indicazioni del profilo istituzionale del IV sec.⁵⁶ Infatti, nel progetto delle *Leggi* platoniche, da cui si ricavano importanti informazioni sui contenuti della materia su cui gli esegeti fornivano la loro consulenza, questi devono sottomettersi alla δοκιμασία, secondo i criteri che la democrazia applica alle magistrature della città⁵⁷. Ad essi, inoltre, il filosofo affida, insieme ai sacerdoti, alle sacerdotesse, ai μάντεις e ai guardiani delle leggi (νομοφύλακες) il compito di ordinare quelle prescrizioni che il legislatore omette, investendoli di responsabilità fondamentali nella conservazione delle leggi⁵⁸. Sulla base di questi elementi ritengo anche che a partire da questa data il ruolo di esegeta abbia assorbito in maniera «professionale» quei compiti attinenti al diritto e, in particolare, a quella sezione normativa concernente l'amministrazione della giustizia, che una parte della tradizione lessicografica ha tenuto distinti dalle funzioni sacrali e che ha portato ad equiparare gli esegeti agli ἔμπειροι τῶν νόμων⁵⁹.

Credo che si possa considerare una data coincidente o vicina a quella della riforma legislativa ricordata da Andocide, come l'inizio della attività degli esegeti, non in senso assoluto, come riteneva J.H. Oliver, ma come formalizzazione dell'istituzione, tramite l'avvio di un'attività ufficiale di funzionari pubblici⁶⁰. Da tutte le testimonianze risulta il ritratto

⁵⁵ Plat., *Euthyphro* 4C-D.

⁵⁶ Plat., *Leg.* VI 759C-E; VIII 828B. Vd. *supra* n. 11.

⁵⁷ Plat., *Leg.* VI 759C-E.

⁵⁸ Plat., *Leg.* VIII 828B. Per un confronto tra le leggi della democrazia del IV sec. e il ruolo dei νομοφύλακες delle *Leggi* platoniche vd. M. PIERART, *Du règne des philosophes à la souveraineté des lois*, in W. EDER (ed.), *Athenische Demokratie* (n. 7), p. 249-268.

⁵⁹ Secondo K. CLINTON, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 91, nel IV sec. il ricorso all'esegesi crebbe in ragione dell'incremento delle vertenze giudiziarie. J.H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 105, ritiene che gli esegeti avrebbero assorbito e istituzionalizzato ruoli e mansioni nel V sec. svolti da χρησμολόγοι e μάντεις, ma si vedano in merito le riserve di H. BLOCH, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 408ss. e le considerazioni di R.S.J. GARLAND, *Religious Authority* (n. 8), p. 81-83.

⁶⁰ Cfr. J.H. OLIVER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 18ss. Secondo Oliver, gli esegeti sarebbero stati istituiti in concomitanza con la revisione delle leggi soloniane da parte di Nicomaco. La sua tesi è seguita da Clinton e da Garland, sebbene ammettendo che vi siano antecedenti

omogeneo di funzionari incaricati di spiegare un codice trasmesso oralmente, in qualche caso di indicarne le modalità di applicazione.

La nuova posizione ufficiale degli esegeti nelle istituzioni pubbliche appare coerente con la creazione press'a poco contemporanea dei nomoteti che presiedevano alla elaborazione dei νόμοι γεγραμμένοι. L'affermata superiorità dei νόμοι scritti rese necessaria la ridefinizione degli ambiti di applicazione di ogni sistema legislativo alternativo, dalle leggi trasmesse oralmente, ai decreti che in gran parte avevano caratterizzato la produzione normativa del secolo precedente⁶¹. Dopo il 399 i nomoteti erano competenti per la legislazione scritta, gli esegeti fornivano consulenze per quelle norme che si possono fare risalire alla cultura pregiuridica della polis, ma che in settori specifici erano state consolidate da una tradizione dottrinale. La riorganizzazione non portò tuttavia ad una separazione tra diritto sacro e profano e neppure coincise con una distinzione della materia sottoposta alla legislazione scritta ed orale. Le competenze degli esegeti nei reati di empietà, nel diritto successorio e familiare, in parte soggetto, come si sa, anche all'autorità dei tribunali poliadi, fanno conoscere piuttosto la capacità di fornire interpretazioni di statuti normativi, di indicare sanzioni che si richiamano ad una tradizione riconosciuta. In questo modo gli esegeti potevano costituire un'importante autorità consultiva per definire la natura dei reati secondo la linea di una dottrina tradizionale, anche se non vincolante rispetto a soluzioni diverse o nuove proposte dagli organismi deputati alla produzione della legislazione scritta⁶². Il silenzio di Aristotele sulla figura degli esegeti, che viene addotto come testimonianza della loro inconsistenza nel sistema istituzionale, non costituisce una obiezione probante, perché il filosofo non dice nulla né sulla riforma legislativa del primo IV sec., né sui meccanismi relativi alla creazione di nomoteti e sulla loro azione⁶³.

di pratiche di esegesi non ufficiali nel V secolo: cfr. K. CLINTON, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 89ss.; R.S.J. GARLAND, *Religious Authority* (n. 8), p. 114ss.

⁶¹ La distinzione tra νόμοι e ψηφίσματα ha ricevuto maggiore attenzione dalla ricerca contemporanea. Per una rassegna della bibliografia relativa rimando a chi scrive in *Città-stato* (n. 3), p. 441.

⁶² In questa prospettiva posso concordare con D. COHEN, *The Rule of Law and Democratic Ideology in Classical Athens*, in W. EDER (ed.), *Athenische Demokratie* (n. 7), p. 227-244, che le leggi ateniesi non hanno fornito nessuna definizione dei reati che esse contemplavano, ma imposterei in chiave più problematica la tesi che neppure siano esistiti meccanismi e strutture alternativi che potessero sostituirle nella produzione di definizioni autoritative.

⁶³ Obiezione di F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 20ss. e note. Sull'assenza di una trattazione sui νομοθέται nell'*Athēnaion Politeia* aristotelica si vedano le considerazioni di P.J. RHODES, *Commentary* (n. 8), p. 35, 512-513 e di M. PIERART, *art. cit.* (n. 58), p. 250.

Dal momento in cui la legislazione scritta costituiva la fonte preminente del diritto che i magistrati erano autorizzati ad applicare, era necessario creare un collegamento ufficiale con quella dottrina giuridica che, insieme alla legislazione sacra, rimaneva in vigore. Come i *nomoi* rispetto ai decreti miravano a limitare una produzione dispersiva e frammentata, così lo Stato interveniva nel sottrarre alla individualità e alla iniziativa spontanea del V sec. e riconducendo sotto il suo controllo tutta quella parte del diritto che potesse contrastare la preminenza dei *nomoi*.

Il possesso di conoscenze normative conservate insieme al patrimonio dei *sacra*, come pure degli strumenti per tramandarle e divulgarle, rese possibile un uso democratico di quelle componenti elitarie che, secondo lo schema profilato dalla costituzione di Teseo, avevano assimilato un patrimonio di sapere a superiorità di rango e di potere. La nobiltà ateniese, in quanto esperta in un settore specifico del diritto, fu investita di responsabilità che la posero funzionale al sistema della democrazia. L'appartenenza agli Eumolpidi eleusini e agli Eupatridi di Atene venne a costituire un requisito «tecnico» per alimentare una categoria di funzionari di alto profilo intellettuale e morale, qualificati sulla base di precise conoscenze a διδάσκειν τοὺς νόμους. Suggestirei altresì che in connessione con la revisione legislativa di fine V–inizio IV secolo, con la regolamentazione delle rispettive sfere di competenza di νόμοι γεγραμμένοι e ἄγραφοι e la definizione delle competenze degli ordinamenti responsabili degli uni e degli altri, il ruolo di esegeta, qualificandosi con mansioni di consulenza in specifici settori del diritto, assunse istituzionalmente anche connotazioni «didattiche», di cui ha preservato il ricordo la tradizione confluita in Plutarco e recepita da una parte delle definizioni lessicografiche⁶⁴.

In merito alle modalità di partecipazione è opportuno insistere sul coinvolgimento dell'aristocrazia nella sua totalità. Per questo aspetto l'azione della nobiltà nella esegesi si distingue da quella esercitata in ordine all'amministrazione dei culti, alla mantica, alla divinazione, per le quali si richiedeva l'appartenenza a specifiche famiglie sacerdotali, sebbene le accomuni la funzione di tramite per la conservazione di un

⁶⁴ A questo proposito merita di essere ricordato che Platone riconosce alle leggi non scritte il carattere di norme prescrittive intese ad «educare» i cittadini a modi di vita eticamente corretti. Plat., *Leg.* 793. Cfr. Aristot., *Eth. Nicom.* X 9, 1180a34–b 3. Pertanto l'ipotesi di S.C. TODD, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 31ss., meriterebbe di essere ripresa e riformulata collegando la figura dell'esegeta all'appartenenza aristocratica e sottolineando l'esclusiva funzione consultiva cui era limitata, sicuramente dopo la formalizzazione dell'incarico agli inizi del IV secolo.

patrimonio di conoscenze, nella religione e nel diritto, che apparteneva alle tradizioni ufficiali della città. Appare in sostanza un complesso di azioni che deve essere considerato parte integrante del sistema delle relazioni ufficiali e pubbliche della democrazia e che dall'inizio del IV sec. aggiungeva nuove specificità e nuove cause di legittimazione ad un ceto che conservava la sua identità sulla base di tradizioni gentilizie. Il riconoscimento ufficiale degli ἄγραφοι νόμοι come patrimonio giuridico distinto dalla legislazione scritta, ma applicabile a specifici settori della vita pubblica e privata, individuale e collettiva dei cittadini ateniesi, come pure il carattere orale della loro trasmissione, investirono esponenti delle famiglie nobiliari di funzioni istituzionali grazie al possesso di un sapere accessibile ai più attraverso la mediazione del loro intervento.

In questo modo l'esperienza di Atene permette di cogliere le complesse articolazioni che sovrappongono ad una élite di rango una élite di sapere, ma anche sollecitano a considerare l'evoluzione della presenza aristocratica in Atene, non come storia di gruppo o di ceto, ma come sistema unito da una rete di relazioni alle istituzioni della democrazia. La presenza della nobiltà nella storia di Atene offre infine un campione interessante delle diverse combinazioni di ἀριστεία di stirpe, eccellenza morale e intellettuale, che il pensiero politico e filosofico, a partire dal IV sec. a.C., elaborava secondo categorie dottrinali.

I-20122 Milano

Istituto di Storia Antica

Giovanna DAVERIO ROCCHI

THE EGYPTIAN AND ATHENIAN DATES OF METON'S OBSERVATION OF THE SUMMER SOLSTICE (–431)

1. METON'S SOLSTICE IN THE SOURCES (27 JUNE –431) AND ACCORDING TO COMPUTATION (28 JUNE –431)

In their study on Meton of Athens and the rise of Greek astronomy, A.C. Bowen and B.R. Goldstein rightly note that there are «only two reports of dated astronomical observations by any Greek before Alexander the Great». The first is Thales' 'prediction' of a solar eclipse; this is perhaps the eclipse of –584 (that is, 585 B.C.). The second is Meton's observation of the summer solstice in Athens in –431 (that is, 432 B.C.).¹ Of the two astronomical phenomena involved, only Meton's solstice can be identified with certainty. Its precise date is this paper's concern.

The two most important sources for the date of Meton's observation are the Milesian *parapegma* (end of the second century B.C.) and Ptolemy's *Almagest* (middle of the second century A.D.). Ptolemy (*Almagest* III 1) dates the observation to «sunrise» (πρωιάς)² or also

¹ A.C. BOWEN - B.R. GOLDSTEIN, *Meton of Athens and Astronomy in the Late Fifth Century B.C.*, in *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, Philadelphia 1988, p. 40. On Meton, see also G.J. TOOMER, *Meton*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* IX, New York 1974, p. 337–340. I thank David Pingree for making useful comments on an advanced version of this paper. For the conclusions I alone remain responsible. This paper has been written in the margin of two historical works of larger scope: one on the evolution of ancient Egyptian calendars, *Civil Calendar and Lunar Calendar in Ancient Egypt (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 77)*, Leuven 1997; the other, in progress, on problems of lunar time-reckoning in late period Egypt and its Mediterranean neighbors. Although Meton's observation occurred in Athens, the dating of the observation is also relevant to the study of ancient Egypt. The Egyptian civil calendar features prominently in what follows, as do scholars from Alexandria. The study of Egyptian calendars can otherwise not be isolated from that of the calendars of other ancient peoples.

Following a convention of astronomy and of works on its history, I refer to 585 B.C. as –584, counting a year 0. The Julian calendar has no year 0: the day that follows 31 December of 1 B.C. is 1 January of A.D. 1.

² Translation of A.C. BOWEN - B.R. GOLDSTEIN, *Meton of Athens*, p. 64. Alternative translations are «in the morning» (A.E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, München 1972, p. 47) and «at dawn» (G.J. TOOMER, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, New York 1984, p. 138).

«around the beginning» (περὶ τὴν ἀρχήν) of Egyptian 21 Phamenoth at the end of the archonship of Apseudes. Archonships, like Athenian years, last from summer to summer. Apseudes was archon from the summer of –432 to the summer of –431. Ptolemy also specifies that Meton made the observation together with Euctemon. Like Ptolemy, the Milesian *parapegma* mentions 21 Phamenoth and the archonship of Apseudes. It adds the Athenian date, 13 Skirophorion. Skirophorion is the last month of the Athenian year. Diodorus (XII 36) confirms 13 Skirophorion and Apseudes³.

The principal problem to emerge from the discussion on Meton's observation concerns a discordance. On the one hand, the sources state that the summer solstice was observed at sunrise of 21 Phamenoth or Julian 27 June –431. On the other hand, modern computation indicates that the solstice occurred at about 11:30 AM⁴ of 28 June –431. There is a difference of about a day between these two times. 21 Phamenoth certainly lasted from the morning of 27 June –431 to the morning of 28 June –431. It ended at the latest with sunrise of 28 June. Since Ptolemy states that Meton observed the solstice in the morning, the morning of 27 June must be meant, as is generally accepted. It is remarkable, then, that the sources have the time of day, morning, roughly right while the day date is off by one.

This paper is an attempt to answer two questions. First, how was the date of Meton's summer solstice determined? Second, why is this date a little early? For the sake of simplicity, the answers to these two questions are anticipated in section 3, after the Callippic Cycle has been described in section 2. In section 4, the evidence which, I believe, supports these answers is adduced. Section 5 briefly summarizes past research on the problem. A conclusion follows in section 6.

³ For more details on these sources, see A.E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, p. 44, and G.J. TOOMER, *Meton*.

⁴ Thus J.P. BRITTON, *Models and Precision: The Quality of Ptolemy's Observations and Parameters (Sources and Studies in the History and Philosophy of Classical Science*, 1), New York 1992, p. 18, rounding off to the nearest tenth of an hour. A.C. BOWEN - B.R. GOLDSTEIN, *Meton of Athens*, p. 65 with n. 135, using a computer program developed by P.J. HUBER, propose c. 9:15 AM. The exact time of the summer solstice cannot be determined with certainty. All depends on one's assumptions regarding the length of the solar or tropical year, that is, the time between equinoxes or solstices, and the variations in this length. A difference of one second accumulates to almost an hour over two to three millennia.

2. THE CALLIPPIC CYCLE

As Geminus observes in Chapter 8 of his Introduction to the *Phaenomena* (of Aratus), πρόθεσις ... ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοὺς μὲν μῆνας ἄγειν κατὰ σελήνην, τοὺς δὲ ἐνιαυτοὺς καθ' ἥλιον, «the ancients had before them the problem of reckoning the months by the moon, but the years by the sun». The problem is that no integer number of months will fit in a year. The astronomical lunar month, that is, the time from one conjunction of sun, moon, and earth to the next, is on average about 29.53059 days long; the tropical solar year, about 365.24220 days. Since, for obvious reasons, time units longer than a day have to consist of whole days, calendrical lunar months are almost always 29 or 30 days long; 29-day months are called hollow, 30-day months full. Modern calendrical solar years are always 365 or 366 days. All this means that 12 lunar months are shorter than a solar year whereas 13 months are longer. But if no integer number of lunar months fits in *one* year, it may in *more than one* year. For example, it was noted first by the Babylonians, probably some time in the eighth century B.C., that 235 lunar months are roughly as long as 19 solar years or cycles of the seasons. Indeed, 235 lunar months contain about 6939.68865 days ($235 \times \text{about } 29.53059$); 19 solar years, about 6939.6018 days ($19 \times \text{about } 365.24220$).

On the basis of such observations, the ancients constructed cycles that encompass an integer numbers of lunar months that are together nearly as long as an integer number of solar years. In such cycles, the lunar months are grouped in units of 12 months and units of 13 months. Both units are called years. For example, the cycle of 235 months, which became the calendar of daily life in Babylon and is still used today in the Jewish religious calendar, has 12 'years' of 12 lunar months and 7 'years' of 13 lunar months. Because 235 lunar months are very close to an integer number of solar years, namely 19, the beginnings of lunar months return roughly to the same position in relation to such markers of the solar year as the solstices and the equinoxes after 235 lunar months. Cycles make it possible to use the moon's revolution around the earth and the earth's revolution around the sun jointly for the purpose of time-reckoning, even though the two movements are numerically incompatible.

In the ancient lunar calendars of daily life, as distinct from those used by astronomers, the lengths of lunar months were probably always deter-

mined by observation. Since factors such as the weather and the vicissitudes of human observation play a role in determining whether a month is hollow or full, 29-day months and 30-day months will alternate rather randomly in observational lunar calendars. Sequences of two, rarely three, 29-day months occur. So do sequences of two or three, even four or five, 30-day months. Such lunar calendars are not suitable for the purposes of astronomy. Astronomers need to be able to relate dated observations to one another by counting the days that pass between them. The randomness of the alternation of 29-day and 30-day months in observational lunar calendars forms an obstacle. To relate two astronomical phenomena separated by centuries to one another, it is necessary to know about each single intervening lunar month whether it was hollow or full. Accurate records spanning several centuries, with one century alone already containing about 1200 months, are required. In fact, Babylonian records listing exactly this information, probably from the eighth century B.C. onwards, have come to light. They are known as *Diaries*⁵. The earliest known fragment dates to -651. There is no evidence, however, that the Greeks ever possessed a similar tool.

Instead, Greek astronomers appear to have sophisticated the cycles described above by regulating one more feature: the number of days in each month. A cycle in which each lunar month is fixed independently of observation at either 29 days or 30 days is an astronomical cycle, because it is suitable for astronomy. There is no evidence that astronomical cycles were ever used in calendars of daily life; I am disregarding the use of astronomical cycles for fixing certain religious feasts. In astronomical cycles, the number of days in the lunar months is not determined by observation but by a pre-arranged system. But non-observational lunar months obviously closely approximate observational lunar months in length because the numerical relations underlying the construction of the astronomical cycles reflect the facts of nature, such as the relation between 235 lunar months and 19 solar years.

The sources, including Geminus, mention several astronomical cycles. These cycles are all attempts to relate lunar months to solar years. They

⁵ A.J. SACHS - H. HUNGER, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 195 & 210), 2 vols., Vienna 1988–1989. Another tool used in late Babylonian astronomy to overcome the unpredictability of observational lunar months was the 'mean' synodic month, divided into 30 *tithis* (see O. NEUGEBAUER, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, Berlin 1975, p. 1069–1070).

differ as to how many months are related to how many years. Only one such cycle will be described here, the Callippic Cycle. Its construction is ascribed to Callippus of Cyzicus (c. 370–300 B.C.). A cycle need not be more than the mental product of an astronomer. There are reports about the use of several cycles by astronomers. The Callippic Cycle is the only cycle of which there is any evidence that it was indeed used by astronomers for dating. The Cycle can be seen in operation, for example, in Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

The essential numerical data pertaining to the Callippic Cycle are as follows. It contains 76 years and 940 months. 48 years have 12 months; 28 years have 13 months. 441 months are hollow; 499 are full. The total number of days is 27,759 ($441 \times 29 + 499 \times 30$). The average length of a Callippic year is 365.25 ($27759:76$), equal in length to the average Julian year (1461 days [$3 \times 365 + 1 \times 366$] divided by 4). The first cycle begins in –329 (330 B.C.). Day 1 is with little doubt the 24-hour day including the night of 28 to 29 June. If Callippic days began in the evening, Day 1 would last from the evening of 28 June to the evening of 29 June. If they began in the morning, Day 1 would last from the morning of 28 June to the morning of 29 June. A discussion of the beginning of the day in ancient Greece exceeds the scope of the present paper. But the choice between evening or morning beginning does not affect the line of reasoning presented below. A morning beginning is otherwise favored here, so that daylight of 28 June, not 29 June, is considered to overlap with the first cycle's first day. 28 June –329, when the first cycle began, was the day of the summer solstice.

The Callippic Cycle is derived from the Metonic Cycle. The latter contains 19 years (12 of 12 months and 7 of 13 months), 235 months (110 hollow and 125 full), and 6940 days. A Callippic cycle of 76 years consists of four Metonic cycles of 19 years from which one day is subtracted by making one full month hollow. Four Metonic cycles encompass 27,760 days (4×6940); one Callippic cycle, 27,759 days. In four Metonic cycles, the balance between hollow and full months is 440/500. In a Callippic cycle, it is 441/499.

In which sequence do the 441 hollow and 499 full months come in the Callippic Cycle? It seems safe to follow Fotheringham's hypothesis regarding this matter⁶. Not only is his hypothesis based on an ancient

⁶ J.K. FOTHERINGHAM, *The Metonic and Callippic Cycles*, *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society* 84 (1923–1924), p. 383–392.

report by the reputable author Geminus in Chapter 8 of his Introduction to the *Phaenomena*. Moreover, Geminus' arrangement makes it possible to reduce the Callippic year, month, and day dates of the four observations in Ptolemy, *Almagest* VII 3⁷ to one another and to 28 June –329 as the beginning of the first cycle. B.L. van der Waerden noted that this is «a strong point in favour of Fotheringham's hypothesis»⁸, and more recently that «there can be no doubt that... –329 June 28 [as beginning of the first cycle] is correct»⁹. It is in fact difficult to see what more evidence is needed to accept the correctness of the hypothesis. It surely seems superior to any others proposed previously¹⁰.

Geminus' rule applies to the Metonic Cycle, but Fotheringham showed that it can be successfully extended to the Callippic Cycle¹¹. The aim of the rule is to spread the hollow months as evenly as possible¹². The first step is to divide the number of days in the Metonic Cycle, 6940, by the number of hollow months, 110. The result is 63, with 10 as remainder. Units of 63 days are therefore the best way to divide 6940 days into 110 intervals of equal length. The next step is to assume that the 235 months all have 30 days, for a total of 7050, and that the task at hand is to remove 110 days for the 110 months of 29 days. Since units of 63 days are the best way to create 110 intervals of equal length in 6940 days, such units are obtained by removing every 64th day in 7050 days. This means that the 64th, 128th, 192nd, 256th, 320th days, and so on, must be eliminated, and that the months in which those days are eliminated are the hollow months.

⁷ For a list of dated observations in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, see O. PEDERSEN, *A Survey of the Almagest*, Odense 1974, p. 408–422; for the Callippic dates of *Almagest* VII 3, see *ibid.*, p. 410 (nos. 12–15).

⁸ B.L. VAN DER WAERDEN, *Greek Astronomical Calendars and their Relation to the Athenian Civil Calendar*, *JHS* 80 (1960), p. 168–180, at p. 171.

⁹ B.L. VAN DER WAERDEN, *Greek Astronomical Calendars*, II: *Callippos and his Calendar*, *Archive of History of Exact Sciences* 29.2 (1984), p. 115–124, at p. 121. For a reply to Neugebauer's criticism of Fotheringham's hypothesis, see p. 123–124. The succession of hollow and full months is also discussed in A.E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, p. 33–51.

¹⁰ For other hypothetical arrangements, see F.K. GINZEL, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* II, Leipzig 1911, p. 399–409.

¹¹ J.K. FOTHERINGHAM, *The Metonic and Callippic Cycles*.

¹² Geminus' formulation, as translated by Th.L. HEATH, *Greek Astronomy*, London 1932, p. 141, is as follows: «In order that the days to be eliminated might be distributed as evenly as possible, they divided the 6940 days by 110; this gives 63 days. It is necessary, therefore, to eliminate the [one] day after intervals of 63 days in this cycle. Thus it is not always the 30th day of the month which is eliminated, but it is the day falling after each interval of 63 days which is called «exairesimos» (to be taken out, eliminable)».

Applying this rule to the Callippic Cycle, one ought, strictly speaking, to divide the number of days in the Cycle, 27,759, by the number of hollow months, 441. The result would be 62. But since the remainder of this division is 417 days, the Cycle's last year would have no hollow months. Instead, Geminus' rule for the Metonic Cycle was multiplied by four in the sense that 27,760 days were divided by 440. The result is 63. 40 days remain at the end. This means that the Cycle's last month would be full. But the number of days, 27,760, is then reduced by one by making the Cycle's last full month hollow. This procedure reflects the fact that the Callippic Cycle is a correction of four Metonic cycles. As Fotheringham has shown, it fully accounts for the Callippic dates in *Almagest* VII 3, where Ptolemy dates four observations by means of double dates consisting of an Egyptian civil date and a Callippic lunar date with an Athenian month name.

Reducing the Athenian dates to the Egyptian dates, and *vice versa*, is relatively easy. Ease of calculation is advantageous in astronomical work. An example is as follows. (It is not necessary to read this example before proceeding with section 3.) Ptolemy states¹³:

Timocharis, who observed in Alexandria, says that in Year 36 of the first Callippic cycle, on Poseideon 25, which is Phaophi 16, at the beginning of the tenth hour, the moon appeared to occult the northernmost of the stars in the forehead of Scorpius very precisely with its northern rim.

Poseideon 25 of Year 36 is converted into the Egyptian date as follows. By the beginning of Year 36, there have been 13 years of 13 months¹⁴ and 22 years of 12 months, for a total of 433. Since Poseideon is the sixth of the Athenian year, it is Month 439 of the Callippic Cycle in the Cycle's Year 36. If all months had 30 days, 13,140 days (438×30) would have passed before Day 1 of Poseideon in Year 36. To find how many of those 438 months were hollow or had 29 days, and there-

¹³ All translations of Ptolemy's *Almagest* will be taken from G.J. TOOMER, *Ptolemy's Almagest*; for the present excerpt, see p. 337.

¹⁴ The first 13 intercalary years of the Callippic Cycle are Years 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17, 20, 22, 25, 28, 30, and 33 (J.K. FOTHERINGHAM, *The Metonic and Callippic Cycles*, p. 392). The other 15 intercalary years are Years 36, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 52, 55, 58, 60, 63, 66, 68, 71, and 74. The series of intercalated years for the first 19 years (Years 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 17) is repeated three times. The intercalary years of the Metonic Cycle were presumably Years 2, 5, 8, 10, 13, 16 and 18 (J.K. FOTHERINGHAM, *ibid.*). The difference with the Callippic Cycle plays no role in the following argument. It is accounted for by Fotheringham's theory that Year 1 of the first Callippic Cycle, -329/28, was Year 8 of the sixth Metonic Cycle, the first beginning in -431/30.

fore how many days need to be subtracted from 13,140, one divides 13,140 by 64, with the integer number 205 as result. This means that 12,935 days ($13,140 - 205$) precede Day 1 of Poseideon of Year 36. Therefore, 25 Poseideon is Day 12,960 ($12,935 + 25$) of the Cycle. The Egyptian date of Day 1 of the Cycle, 28 June –329, is 17 Pharmouthi. 139 days remain to the end of the year. To find the Egyptian date of Day 12,960 of the Cycle, one subtracts 139 days, and divides the rest, 12,821 days, by 365 days, which is the length of the Egyptian year. The result is 35 years, with 46 days remaining. Since the Egyptian year consists of 12 months of 30 days plus five added days, Day 12,960 of the Cycle is Day 46 of an Egyptian year, or Day 16 of the second month of that year, that is, 16 Phaophi.

One can invert this procedure to find that 16 Phaophi is 25 Poseideon. 16 Phaophi is Day 12,960 of the Cycle ($139 + 35 \times 365 + 46$). Up to that day, the Cycle contains 205 hollow months ($12,960:63$). So if all months were full there would be 13,165 days ($12,960 + 205$) up to 16 Phaophi. This means that 438 complete months ($13,165:30$) plus a number of days had passed before the day in question. Since what remains after $13,165:30$ is 25, the Callippic day date corresponding to 16 Phaophi will be 25. All that remains to be inferred is that Month 439 is Month 6 of Year 36, which is called Poseideon in the Athenian calendar.

The other three double dates in *Almagest* VII 3, also located in the first Callippic cycle, could be calculated likewise: Year 36, 15 Elaphebolion, 5 Tybi; Year 47, 8 Anthesterion, 29 Athyr; Year 48, 25 Pyanepsion, 7 Thoth¹⁵.

3. THE EGYPTIAN DATE OF METON'S OBSERVATION

The sources state that Meton observed the summer solstice in Athens on Athenian 13 Skirophorion or Egyptian 21 Phamenoth. It is proposed here that the Athenian date was handed down in the sources and the Egyptian date calculated later, as follows.

¹⁵ The names of the 30 day months of the Egyptian year are: (1) Thoth; (2) Phaophi; (3) Athyr; (4) Choiak; (5) Tybi; (6) Mecheir; (7) Phamenoth; (8) Pharmouthi; (9) Pachons; (10) Payni; (11) Epeiph; (12) Mesore. The names of the 29 or 30 day months of the Athenian year are: (1) Hekatombaion; (2) Metageitnion; (3) Boedromion; (4) Pyanepsion; (5) Maimakterion; (6) Poseideon; (7) Gamelion; (8) Anthesterion; (9) Elaphebolion; (10) Mounichion; (11) Thargelion; (12) Skirophorion.

The Alexandrian intellectual milieu possessed a report that, on 13 Skirophorion, reckoned by whatever calendar, and at the end of the year in which Apseudes was archon, Meton had observed the summer solstice in Athens. Some time in the early third century B.C., perhaps later, this date needed to be converted into the local Egyptian calendar. At the time, the most advanced chronological tool that astronomers possessed in order to manage both lunar months and solar years for chronological purposes was the Callippic Cycle. There are three main aspects to this Cycle: (1) a lunar aspect, (2) a solar aspect, and (3) a lunisolar aspect. According to its lunar aspect, if sun, moon, and earth, in that order, position themselves on a single line on a certain day, then, 27,759 days or one Callippic cycle later, they will again do so. According to the Cycle's solar aspect, if summer solstice occurs on a certain day, it will again occur after 27,759 days have passed. The lunisolar aspect relates the lunar and solar aspect to one another in that the Cycle's 940 lunar months are as long as its 76 solar years. These are the assumptions on which the Callippic Cycle is founded. These assumptions are not perfect from an astronomical point of view. Indeed, the afore-mentioned conjunction will fall already after about 27,758.7546 days ($940 \times$ about 29.53059) and the afore-mentioned summer solstice already after about 27,758.4072 days ($76 \times$ about 365.24220). The astronomical solar cycle of 76 years is therefore shorter than the astronomical lunar cycle of 940 months and both cycles are shorter than the Callippic Cycle of 27,759 days. Quite early in the period in which it was used, it must have been realized that the Callippic Cycle, which was created to correct the Metonic Cycle of 6940 days by shortening it by a quarter day, or four Metonic cycles by one day, was itself still too long. But there is no evidence that a superior cycle was ever used for chronological purposes. Ptolemy reports observations according to the Callippic Cycle in the second century A.D., although he is aware (*Almagest* III 1) that it is not perfect.

As noted above, the best tool available to capture the summer solstice of -431 in a dating net was the Callippic Cycle. There are two problems with using Callippic cycles, however. The first problem is that, before 28 June -329, there are no Callippic cycles. This problem is easily solved by extrapolating two Callippic cycles of 76 years to before -329, casting the Callippic dating net back into the past as it were, somewhat in the same way as we now use Julian years 'B.C.' Since mean Callippic years are as long as Julian years, that is, 365.25 days ($27,759:76$), the

first cycle of these extrapolated cycles (cycle -2 or 'minus' 2) begins on 28 June -481 and the second cycle (cycle -1) on 28 June -405. Therefore, Meton made his observation at the end of Year 50 of cycle -2.

The second problem is that the Athenian date of Meton's solstice, 13 Skirophorion, was itself not obtained by the Callippic Cycle, which did not yet exist at the time. This problem can be avoided by not using the lunar aspect of the Callippic Cycle with its Athenian date, but using instead its solar aspect in conjunction with the Egyptian calendar. This is apparently what was done. Indeed, Ptolemy reports in *Almagest* III 1 a summer solstice «observed by the school of Aristarchus in Year 50 of the first Callippic cycle»¹⁶, that is, in -279. A little further, he states that this solstice was «observed by Aristarchus at the end of Year 50 of the first Callippic cycle»¹⁷. Exactly two full Callippic cycles, or 152 years, separate this summer solstice from Meton's of -431.

Curiously, Ptolemy mentions neither the Egyptian date nor the Athenian date of the solstice of -279. According to computation, the summer solstice occurred in the early morning of 27 June -279, soon after sunrise, at about 6:10 AM¹⁸. In -279, Julian 27 June is Egyptian 29 Pharmouthi.

There was a tradition of observing summer solstices long before the one observed in -279. Observing the solstice may therefore well have developed into an art. In *Almagest* III 1, Hipparchus, who lived in the second century B.C., is quoted as saying that «both I and Archimedes [third century B.C.] may have committed errors of up to a quarter of a day in our observations and calculations [of the time of the solstices]»¹⁹. This statement implies that, in the third century B.C., at least some scholars were confident that they could establish the exact day of the solstice. In conclusion, it is altogether possible that the summer solstice of -279 was observed on the correct day, namely 27 June²⁰. The argument developed below assumes that this is the case.

From 29 Pharmouthi as the date of the summer solstice in -279, the Egyptian date of Meton's summer solstice of -431 could easily be inferred. According to the structure of the Callippic Cycle, the summer

¹⁶ G.J. TOOMER, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, p. 138 bottom.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

¹⁸ Thus J.P. BRITTON, *Models and Precision*, p. 18.

¹⁹ G.J. TOOMER, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, p. 133.

²⁰ For ancient techniques of measuring the solstice, see A.C. BOWEN — B.R. GOLDSTEIN, *Meton of Athens*, p. 72-73.

solstice would again occur 27,759 days, or one Callippic cycle, earlier, and again 55,518 days, or two cycles, earlier. Since 27,759 days are 19 days longer than 76 Egyptian years of 365 days, the summer solstice will recede 19 days in the Egyptian calendar with each earlier cycle. Consequently, the summer solstice fell on 10 Pharmouthi (29 Pharmouthi –19 days) in –355, in Year 50 of cycle –1; and on 21 Phamenoth (10 Pharmouthi –19 days) in –431, in Year 50 of cycle –2.

Ancient astronomers were aware that the Callippic Cycle was not perfect in being too long. Ptolemy discusses this matter in *Almagest* III 1, in the section in which the Cycle is mentioned the most as a dating device. He also refers to, and quotes from, works by Hipparchus such as *On the Length of the Year*. Could the problem of the imperfection of the Callippic Cycle somehow have led to another date than 21 Phamenoth as the Egyptian date of Meton's solstice? It could not. Indeed, neither Ptolemy nor Hipparchus, antiquity's two foremost astronomers, considered the excess in length of the Cycle to be more than one day in 300 years. This corresponds to about half a day in 152 years or two cycles, the time that separates Meton's solstice from Aristarchus' solstice. This is less than half of the actual excess (see below). Counting two 'corrected' Callippic cycles of about $27,758\frac{1}{4}$ days back from the morning of 29 Pharmouthi –279 (Aristarchus' solstice), instead of two exact Callippic cycles of 27,759 days, would still place Meton's solstice on 21 Phamenoth. But the solstice would be fixed not in the morning of 21 Phamenoth but half a day later, and half a day closer to 29 Pharmouthi –279.

In the above scenario, the Athenian date of Meton's solstice, 13 Skirophorion, plays no role, as in fact it hardly could. This is perhaps why Ptolemy never mentions it. Nor does he mention either the Athenian date or the Egyptian date of Aristarchus' solstice. According to the structure of the Cycle proposed by Fotheringham, who follows Geminus, 27 June –279 or 29 Pharmouthi corresponds to 12 Skirophorion. The contrast between 13 Skirophorion as the date of Meton's solstice and 12 Skirophorion as that of Aristarchus' solstice is intriguing. And so it must have seemed, I believe, to ancient observers. But it is in fact not possible to derive anything from this contrast. Even if it is assumed just for the sake of the argument that both dates are Callippic, which Meton's 13 Skirophorion in fact could not be, the difference of one day would still be puzzling. Indeed, according to the most advanced knowledge available up to Ptolemy's time, the error of the Callippic Cycle was only about half a day in 152 years. All this means that, according to the best information

available to the ancients, the summer solstice would fall on 21 Phamenoth in –431 if it were calculated back from 29 Pharmouthi –279, the distance between the two dates being two full Callippic cycles. This could not be reconciled with the one day difference between 13 Skirophorion and 12 Skirophorion if both were Callippic. Anyhow, Meton's Athenian date is *not* Callippic. This only further complicates a problem that is already unsolvable. And all this does not take into account that *two* cycles are involved, the cycle of lunar months and the cycle of solar years. Each has its own length, and both are shorter than the Callippic Cycle.

Ptolemy notes that Meton observed the solstice at sunrise of 21 Phamenoth –431. If he knew somehow that Aristarchus' solstice occurred in the very early morning of 29 Pharmouthi –279, as it did, then the solstice would not have moved the half a day that Hipparchus' theories and his own say it should. Is this why Ptolemy describes Meton's and Aristarchus' solstice observations, perhaps with some irritation, as «conducted rather crudely (as Hipparchus too seems to think)»²¹ and Meton's observation as «somewhat crudely recorded»²²?

It is now possible to proceed to the second question posed at the end of section 1 regarding Meton's solstice. Why is the solstice dated to the morning of 21 Phamenoth when it occurred on 22 Phamenoth, at about 11:30 AM? Most of the elements that make up the answer to this question can be inferred from what has been said above. It has been proposed that the Egyptian date was calculated by extending the measuring-rod of the Callippic Cycle back into the past. However, this measuring-rod is too long. This means that summer solstices occur more closely to one another than the Cycle says they do. Or, by calculating backward into the past with the Cycle, a summer solstice will be dated earlier in time than the time when it actually happened, or farther away than should be from the moment from which it is calculated. Hipparchus and Ptolemy knew that the Cycle was too long. But according to their calculations, the excess was less than half of what it really is. According to one estimate by Hipparchus, it is about 1/300 of a day per year, that is, about 288 seconds²³. The actual excess is about 674 seconds per year, or about

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

²³ It is otherwise not clear from the *Almagest* how Hipparchus or Ptolemy obtained the length of the year, as O. PEDERSEN too has noted (*A Survey of the Almagest*, p. 131). As to how it was obtained, then, see N.M. SWERDLOW, *Hipparchus' Determination of the Length of the Tropical Year and the Rate of Precession*, *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 21 (1979), p. 291–309.

1/128 to 1/129 of a day. Thus, the Callippic year is exactly $365^d6^h00^m00^s$ long; Hipparchus' and Ptolemy's tropical year, $365^d5^h55^m12^s$; the tropical year according to modern calculations, $365^d5^h48^m46^s$. In -279, the summer solstice occurred at about 6:10 AM on 27 June. According to the Cycle, it occurred also at about 6:10 AM on 27 June -431. According to Hipparchus and Ptolemy, it would occur at about 6:20 PM on 27 June -431; that is about 43,776 seconds (152 years x 288 seconds), or $12^h9^m36^s$, later in time or closer to the solstice of -279. According to modern calculations, it occurred at approximately 10:26 AM on 28 June -431 (the difference of about an hour with the estimate of 11:30 AM reported above is no reason for concern [see n. 4]); that is about 102,448 seconds (152 years x 674 seconds), or $28^h27^m28^s$, later or closer.

The question remains: Did Meton observe the solstice on the right day, 28 June -431, and was 13 Skirophorion therefore, in fact, 22 Phamenoth? What has been said so far by no means excludes this possibility. But showing positively that the solstice was observed on the correct day is a different matter. It is proposed here that, in all probability, it was. Evidence will be adduced below (4.2).

4. THE EVIDENCE

Two items are classified here as evidence. The first item (4.1) is adduced to show that the Egyptian date was calculated by extrapolating two Callippic cycles. The second item (4.2) makes it much more likely that Meton observed the solstice on 28 June than on 27 June of -431.

4.1. Ptolemy, *Almagest* III 1

In a statement that has hitherto not been connected with the problem of how Meton's solstice was dated, Ptolemy, citing Hipparchus for support, explicitly says that 152 years, that is, two Callippic cycles, are «reckoned» from Meton's solstice to that of Aristarchus.

Now there are 152 years (as Hipparchus too reckons) from the summer solstice recorded in the archonship of Apseudes to the solstice observed by the school of Aristarchus in Year 50 of the first Callippic cycle²⁴.

²⁴ G.J. TOOMER, *Ptolemy's Almagest*, p. 138.

The «years», as is clear from the context, are Callippic years of 365.25 days. Ptolemy knew that the Callippic years are a little too long, but since the excess only amounted — at least so he and Hipparchus thought — to half a day after two Callippic cycles, it must have seemed justified to reckon, «as Hipparchus too reckons», exactly 152 years or 27,759 days between the two solstices. The excess length only affected the hour of the day.

Two intriguing questions arise in this connection: Was there a certain anticipation in –279 as to when the summer solstice would fall in relation to 13 Skirophorion, because two full Callippic cycles had passed since Meton's famous solstice? Does the summer solstice of –279 owe its survival in memory to its Callippic relation with Meton's solstice?

4.2. Lunar 13 Skirophorion

According to the theory proposed above, no commitment is necessary as to whether Meton did or did not observe the summer solstice on the correct day, 28 June or 22 Phamenoth. But clearly, the theory opens up the possibility that he did, because the transmitted Egyptian date, 21 Phamenoth or 27 June, was calculated much later.

In fact, an independent argument of the astronomical kind makes 28 June –279 much more likely as the day on which Meton observed the solstice than 27 June. This argument rests on two reasonable assumptions. The first assumption is that Meton's observation was dated on the day on which the observation was made according to the local, popular, Athenian calendar²⁵. The observation of the summer solstice was an important matter in ancient Athens. The dates of the solstice were made public. The observation served a calendrical purpose. It determined the beginning of the year. There is some doubt as to whether the year began with the first full lunar month *immediately after* the summer solstice, as the traditional view has it. But there can be no doubt, judging from the sources, that the summer solstice was the principal marker of the beginning of the Athenian year²⁶. The date of Meton's solstice would have survived in memory because it was associated with Meton's famous calendar reform, whatever the effect of this reform on life in Athens may have been.

²⁵ Needless to say, the solstice can hardly have been dated according to the Egyptian calendar on the day it was observed in –431. It is difficult to think of any regular use of that calendar in fifth-century Athens.

²⁶ For a list of citations, see W.K. PRITCHETT, *The Choiseul Marble*, p. 39–41.

The second assumption is that 13 Skirophorion was determined by lunar observation. Cycles operating without observation, in which the number of days in each month is fixed, were for astronomers²⁷. Pritchett and Neugebauer write that «the Athenian calendar seems to us to be the combination of a rigid prytanny calendar and a civil calendar having the normal irregularities of lunar reckoning, and subject to arbitrary modification on certain occasions»²⁸. They reject the notion that astronomical cycles were ever used for the calendar of daily life²⁹. One even wonders whether cycles were used by Greek astronomers for dating astronomical events before the founding of the Alexandrian Museum. Conceiving cycles does not mean using them for dating.

An argument in favor of the proposition that the popular Athenian calendar operated by lunar observation and not by a cycle is Meton's observation of the solstice itself. Its purpose was to identify the first lunar month of the year. If there had been a completely regulated cycle, the number of months in each year would be known and there would have been no need to observe the solstice.

There is in fact no evidence of dated astronomical observations from the Greek, later Hellenistic, world before the third century B.C. Hipparchus and Ptolemy, the greatest astronomers of antiquity, do not adduce any. Yet they eagerly use Babylonian observations dating back to the eighth century B.C. If Hipparchus and Ptolemy somehow gained access to astronomical information in the cuneiform tablets from distant Babylon, surely, as inhabitants of the Hellenistic world, they would have known, and used, Greek observations dated according to calendrical principles that made it possible to use them.

Given these two assumptions, it may be observed that the sources state that 13 Skirophorion of -431 is 21 Phamenoth, that is, 27 June. Consequently, 1 Skirophorion is June 15. The closest conjunction occurs on 16 June at 10:04 AM³⁰. There is much controversy as to whether the

²⁷ See B.L. VAN DER WAERDEN, *Greek Astronomical Calendars and their Relation to the Athenian Calendar*.

²⁸ W.K. PRICHETT - O. NEUGEBAUER, *The Calendars of Athens*, Cambridge (MA) 1947, p. 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7-8.

³⁰ H.H. GOLDSTINE, *New and Full Moons 1001 B.C. to A.D. 1651* (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, 94), Philadelphia 1973, p. 48. Two Callippic cycles later, in -279, conjunction occurred on 15 June at 3:21 PM (H.H. GOLDSTINE, *op. cit.*, p. 61), about 19 hours earlier. 940 mean lunar months of 29.53059 days are 27,758.7546 days long, about 6 hours shorter than one cycle, or about 12 hours shorter than two. This

Athenian day began in the evening or the morning, a problem too complex to be addressed here. Whatever may be of the matter, 15 June is too early by any kind of observational lunar calendar, as has been noted before³¹, to mark the beginning of the month Skirophorion. Indeed, the last crescent might still have been visible just before sunrise of 15 June.

But if 13 Skirophorion coincided with 22 Phamenoth or 28 June, and thus fell on the day of the summer solstice, as the sources after all say it does, then Skirophorion began on 16 June, the day when conjunction took place. A lunar month beginning on the day of conjunction is in agreement with all else that is known about ancient Greek calendars, even if many a problem regarding this topic remains unsolved³².

The traditional view of the Athenian calendar is that the month began with first crescent visibility in the evening. The earliest possible evening that the first crescent could be seen would be 17 June. 1 Skirophorion would therefore last from the evening of 17 June to the evening of 18 June. 13 Skirophorion would therefore last from the evening of 29 June to the evening of 30 June. But according to the view expressed above, 1 Skirophorion began in the morning of 16 June, *just before conjunction*. I firmly believe, however, and I am not alone in this belief, that this does not contradict any other evidence for Greek calendars. The matter cannot be dealt with in detail here. In the second, forthcoming work, mentioned in note 1 above, I intend to describe a new paradigm that has emerged for the beginning(s) of the day and the month in Egypt and the ancient world. According to this paradigm, it is quite possible for an Athenian month to begin before conjunction.

5. PAST RESEARCH

The early history of the problem may be telescoped by leaping from the opus of J.J. Scaliger (1540–1609), the founder of the modern discipline of chronology, to L. Ideler's handbook of chronology (1826), to F.K. Ginzel's (1911). In Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* (1583),

is less than the 19 hours mentioned above. But lunar months vary in length from 29.26 to 29.80 days. It may also be noted that 940 lunar months lose less ground against the Callippic Cycle than 76 solar years.

³¹ See, for example, A.C. BOWEN - B.R. GOLDSTEIN, *Method of Athens*, p. 64.

³² A recent contribution to this much discussed subject is W.K. PRITCHETT, *The Calendar of the Gibbous Month*, *ZPE* 49 (1982), p. 243–266.

the discussion of Meton's observation is found in the first book on the Greek calendar, which apparently perplexed Scaliger's «cleverest» reader, J. Kepler³³. Since, first, Scaliger only had access to Ptolemy, who only mentions 21 Phamenoth, and to Diodorus, who only mentions 13 Skirophorion, but not to the Milesian *parapegma*, which equates the two dates, and since, second, the dates are assigned to different events, 21 Phamenoth by Ptolemy (*Almagest* III 1) to the solstice and 13 Skirophorion by Diodorus (XII 36) to the beginning of Meton's 19-year cycle, Scaliger could reasonably defend a theory in which the two dates refer to two different events occurring on different days. He assigned 21 Phamenoth to the solstice on 28 June and 13 Skirophorion to the beginning of the 19-year cycle on 3 July³⁴. He also assumed that Meton began his 19-year cycle with astronomical conjunction. On this assumption, 13 Skirophorion, the beginning of Meton's cycle and his Day 1 of Hekatombaion, coincided with new moon and Skirophorion could not be a lunar month. Scaliger used this as an argument for his idiosyncratic view that the Athenian popular calendar was not lunar. The conjunction of 13 Skirophorion was identified with that of 15 July and 1 Skirophorion therefore with 3 July. Thus, Meton began his cycle with the first new moon (13 Skirophorion or 3 July) after the summer solstice (21 Phamenoth, erroneously equated by Scaliger with 28 instead of 27 June, although the solstice does fall on 28 June). Remarkably, this is the system that is otherwise widely accepted to be that of the Athenian lunar calendar.

L. Ideler, then, equated 13 Skirophorion and 21 Phamenoth, though without the support of the Milesian *parapegma*. He notes, without further comment, that the solstice fell on 28 June, a day later than 21 Phamenoth or 27 June, and that lunar Skirophorion slightly deviates from the moon, but he does not seek to explain these deviations³⁵. F.K. Ginzel discusses all the aspects of Meton's cycle at great length, surveying earlier work³⁶. He takes note of the deviations of 13 Skirophorion or

³³ *In primo [libro] haereo (haereo enim tenaciter)* — «I find myself stuck in the first [book], and I am quite bogged down in it», writes Kepler in 1606 in a letter to Scaliger, in the initial paragraph which he deleted before sending the letter (A. GRAFTON, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* II: *Historical Chronology*, Oxford 1993, p. 145 with n. 1).

³⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 148, 170–171.

³⁵ L. IDELER, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* I, Berlin 1825, p. 326–329, esp. p. 326 n. 2 and p. 329 bottom.

³⁶ F.K. GINZEL, *Handbuch*, p. 388–453 (*passim*).

21 Phamenoth from both sun and moon, but seems to be willing to accept these deviations as in one way or another negligible³⁷. He mentions A. Mommsen's equation of 13 Skirophorion with 28 June and the two explanations Mommsen offered over time for this equation, both different from the theory presented here³⁸. With Fotheringham's statement that the dates in Ptolemy and the Milesian *parapegma* show that «the summer solstice was observed on June 27 [in -431]», this brief survey of earlier scholarship may be concluded. Three more recent contributions to the problem are as follows.

A.E. Samuel recognizes that the deviations of 21 Phamenoth and 13 Skirophorion from sun and moon would make 28 June a more suitable date, but he apparently does not find these deviations significant enough, since he concludes that «all the data fit»³⁹. B.L. van der Waerden's discussion too is based on the assumption that Meton observed the solstice on 27 June⁴⁰. In the longest discussion of the problem in recent times, A.C. Bowen and B.R. Goldstein propose, as does the theory presented here, that the Egyptian date was calculated later, but they suggest that Hipparchus succeeded in obtaining sunrise of 21 Phamenoth or 27 June -431 as date of the solstice by calculating from the vernal equinox of 1 Phamenoth in -127⁴¹.

6. CONCLUSION

The theory proposed above may be summarized in the following three tenets.

(1) *The Athenian date*: In -431, Meton observed the summer solstice in Athens on 28 June, the day on which modern computation says it occurred. The Athenian date at the time was 13 Skirophorion according to the contemporary observational lunar calendar. 28 June -431 corresponds to Egyptian 22 Phamenoth, but this is irrelevant because the Egyptian calendar was not used in fifth-century Athens. The solstice

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 394–396.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

³⁹ A.E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, p. 45.

⁴⁰ B.L. VAN DER WAERDEN, *Greek Astronomical Calendars*, I: *The Parapegma of Euctemon*, *Archive of History of Exact Sciences* 29.2 (1984), p. 101–114, at p. 108, and *Greek Astronomical Calendars*, II: *Callippos and his Calendar*, p. 122.

⁴¹ A.C. BOWEN - B.R. GOLDSTEIN, *Meton of Athens*, p. 69.

date 13 Skirophorion was transmitted and came into the possession of the Hellenistic scientific community of which the Alexandrian Museum was the center.

(2) *The Egyptian date* was calculated later, independently from the Athenian date, by counting two Callippic cycles, 152 years of 365.25 days, or 27,759 days, back from the day of the solstice in –279, that is, 27 June or 29 Pharmouthi.

(3) *The Athenian and Egyptian dates*: Because 13 Skirophorion and 21 Phamenoth were obtained in different ways, 13 Skirophorion by transmission and 21 Phamenoth by calculation, their association in the sources is secondary—and false.

Cambridge, MA, 02138
343 Harvard Street

Leo DEPUYDT

THE SPARTAN PRACTICE OF SELECTIVE INFANTICIDE AND ITS PARALLELS IN ANCIENT UTOPIAN TRADITION

Talking with non-classicists, who have some notion of ancient culture and the Spartan state model, usually from what they were taught in high school, I have often experienced that the killing of defective infants was one of the shocking features they remembered. Also, the Spartan practice of selective infanticide features prominently in modern studies, especially in general and popularizing books on ancient Greece, in which it is sometimes described with horrible details that are lacking in the ancient sources¹. As a matter of fact, only one ancient text refers to the Spartan practice of the selection of newborns, viz. a passage from Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos* (16.1-2). The present paper intends to screen the interpretation and reliability of this late testimony and to confront it with some comparable texts, which set the same practice in other 'ideal' societies, whether they are considered historical or belong manifestly to the realm of utopian imagination. Two of these texts are unambiguously philosophical, belonging to the designs of an ideal state as proposed by Plato (*Resp.* 460c) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1335b); the other two appear in exotic travel accounts, viz. a description of the institutions of an idealized Indian tribe by the Alexander-historian Onesikritos (*FGrHist* 134 F21) and an even more fantastic report on the customs of the utopian Sun People by Iamboulos (Diod. II 58.5). All these texts chronologically precede the passage in Plutarch, which, however, goes back to much older sources. So the actual chronological distance between our testimonia, all related to the eugenic selection of newborns, is considerably reduced. Therefore it is certainly legitimate to ask whether they were influenced by one another or at least whether they

¹ According to many modern authors they were thrown into a ravine, although this cannot be found in ancient sources: see e.g. I. MALBIN, *Historische Betrachtungen zur Frage der Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens*, diss. Königsberg 1922, p. 14: «Schwache und missgestaltete Kinder wurden... in einem tiefen Abgrund am Berg Taygetos geworfen»; W. DURANT, *The Story of Civilization. The Life of Greece*, New York 1939, p. 81: «any child that appeared defective was thrown from a cliff of Mt. Taygetus, to die on the jagged rocks below»; N.M. KENNEL, *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta*, Chapel Hill-London 1995, p. 25: «Plutarch states that the Spartans «used to cast» weak infants into the Apothetae pit». Compare the quotation from the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in n. 30.

belong in one way or another to the same philosophical or ideological tradition, the more so as these passages have never been studied together. In turn the results of such a comparative investigation will prove useful for the interpretation of these texts, especially of the Plutarch-passage and the question of its historical reliability, although I admit that scholarly caution should prevail here because of the loss of Plutarch's sources. Finally, the analysis of these passages is of great interest, since some of them, especially those of Plutarch, Plato and Aristotle, have had enormous historical influence: they have been frequently referred to in the context of modern utopias or 'ideal societies' involving selective infanticide or, as it is often called nowadays, «non-voluntary euthanasia on severely disabled newborn children». In a sequel to this paper I will study how the modern debate on this issue continues to draw arguments from the ancient texts, in spite of their brevity and relative obscurity². In this first part, however, I will concentrate on the ancient passages, assessing their original meaning within their literary and philosophical context. My focus on selective infanticide within the framework of utopian societal projects implies that I leave aside the general historical question of the practice of infanticide of malformed or handicapped infants, which seems to have been widespread throughout Graeco-Roman antiquity³.

1. PLUTARCH, *LYKOURGOS* 16.1-2

Τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν οὐκ ἦν κύριος ὁ γεννήσας τρέφειν, ἀλλ' ἔφερε λαβὼν εἰς τόπον τινὰ λέσχην καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενοι τῶν φυλετῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καταμαθόντες τὸ παιδάριον, εἰ μὲν εὐπαγὲς εἶη καὶ ῥωμαλέον, τρέφειν ἐκέλευον, κλῆρον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐνακισχιλίων προσνείμαντες· εἰ δ' ἀγεννὲς καὶ ἄμορφον, ἀπέπεμπον εἰς τὰς λεγομένας Ἀποθέτας, παρὰ Ταύγετον βαρathρώδη τόπον, ὥς οὔτε αὐτῷ ζῆν ἄμεινον ὄν οὔτε τῇ πόλει τὸ μὴ καλῶς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην πεφυκός.

² To appear in a future issue of *Ancient Society*.

³ For this question I refer to M. SCHMIDT, *Hephaistos lebt – Untersuchungen zur Frage der Behandlung behinderter Kinder in der Antike*, *Hephaistos* 5/6 (1983/84), p. 133-161; E. EYBEN, *Family Planning in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, *AncSoc* 11/12 (1980/81), p. 15 with n. 37-38; W.V. HARRIS, *Child-Exposure in the Roman Empire*, *JRS* 84 (1994), p. 12; R. GARLAND, *The Eye of the Beholder. Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*, London 1995, p. 13-17.

Offspring was not reared at the will of the father, but was taken and carried by him to a place called Lesche, where the elders of the tribes officially examined the infant, and if it was well-built and sturdy, they ordered the father to rear it, and assigned it one of the nine thousands lots of land; but if it was ill-born and deformed, they banished it to the so-called Apothetae, a chasm-like place at the foot of Mount Taygetus, in the conviction that the life of that which nature had not well equipped at the very beginning for health and strength, was of no advantage either to itself or the state⁴.

This passage stands at the beginning of Plutarch's account of the Spartan ἀγωγή allegedly introduced by Lykourgos. Plutarch begins his *Life of Lykourgos* with the remark that nothing can be said about this legislator which is not a subject of debate. Modern scholarship has not changed this situation: some scholars have argued that Lykourgos was merely a product of fiction, others that he was a god⁵, and those who accept his historicity do not agree in which period he lived. It is certain, however, that the legislation traditionally ascribed to him cannot have been the work of one person, and very probably many of its elements known to us only through Hellenistic or later sources were created or at least fundamentally reshaped to support the reforms the Spartan kings were endeavouring to introduce in the second part of the third century⁶. So there is little doubt that Plutarch's presentation of state-controlled eugenic infanticide as an institution introduced or at

⁴ Translation (slightly modified) of B. PERRIN, *Plutarch. The Parallel Lives*, vol. I (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge (MA) — London 1914, p. 255.

⁵ This position was most exhaustively argued by E. MEYER, *Lykurgos von Sparta* (Studien zur alten Geschichte, 1: Zur älteren griechischen Geschichte), Halle 1892 (repr. Hildesheim 1966), p. 2ff.

⁶ A good survey of the hotly debated issue of the historicity of Lykourgos and his legislative activity may be found in P. OLIVA, *Sparta and her Social Problems*, Prague 1971, p. 63-70 (his conclusion: «The ancient tradition attributing almost all the specific features of this regime to a single man was created gradually, most probably during the fourth century»). See also M. MANFREDINI - L. PICCIRILLI (eds.), *Plutarco. Le Vite di Licurgo e di Numa* (Scrittori greci e latini), Milano 1980, p. xi-xvii; S. LINK, *Der Kosmos Sparta. Recht und Sitte in klassischer Zeit*, Darmstadt 1994, p. ix: «(dessen), was sich in klassischer Zeit zu «den Gesetzen des Lykurg» verdichtet hatte — der Ausdruck mit dem die Spartaner die geschriebenen und ungeschriebenen Gesetze, Regeln und Gewohnheiten als die große Einheit ihres Kosmos bezeichneten». Other references can be found in P. OLIVA, *Die «Lykurgische» Verfassung in der griechischen Geschichtsschreibung der klassischen Zeitperiode*, *Klio* 66 (1984), p. 533 n. 3. G. GROTE, *History of Greece* II, New York 1859, p. 400ff., was very influential with his argument that the whole of the Lykourgan legend was a Hellenistic fiction. This view was put in perspective by E.N. TIGERSTEDT, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* (Stockholm Studies in History of Literature, 9 & 15), Stockholm 1965 & 1974, II, p. 77ff.

least legally established by Lykourgos is due to legendary condensation⁷.

But the question remains whether the institution as such is historical. To answer this question, one must first consider the nature and the historical reliability of this *Vita* as a whole and, secondly, analyze the passage in question more closely. As to the former question Plutarch himself gives us a precious hint when, at the end of the *Life* (31.2), he concludes that Lykourgos had put into practice an ideal state model as had been worked out only on a conceptual level by philosophers as Plato, Diogenes and Zeno, and that, thanks to him, the whole city of Sparta was «practising philosophy». There is no doubt that Plutarch selected material from his sources in view of the Platonic ideals he wanted to illustrate in his biography, especially the ideas of genuine human education directed toward virtue, and of the harmony based on *ἰσότης*. Since a great idea is at work, actual shortcomings of the Spartan system can be overlooked or reinterpreted in this ethical-pedagogical perspective. In Plutarch's 'history of ideas', historical accuracy is subsidiary because it tends to dwell unsuitably on chance events⁸. This point of view as well as the ideological remodelling of Spartan institutions during the revolution of the third century B.C. may explain why the reader gets a much more idealistic picture of Sparta here than in Aristotle, whose attitude towards the Spartan system was ambivalent⁹. Scholars have noticed that some elements of the Spartan kosmos as described here are in clear contradiction with the evidence from other sources¹⁰. Much of course depends on the sources used by Plutarch. Although the

⁷ It is noteworthy that legal sanctions against abortion were attributed to the same Lykourgos by Galen XIX 179 and that the legend told in Plutarch, *Lyc.* 3.1-4 undeniably demonstrates his aversion of abortion. However, it may be legitimate to explain this paradox by distinguishing between exposure (*ἀπόθεσις*), which at least theoretically left a chance of survival, and abortion as an act of active killing.

⁸ See especially G. SCHNEEWEISS, *History and Philosophy in Plutarch. Observations on Plutarch's Lycurgus*, in G.W. BOWERSOCK - W. BURKERT et al. (eds.), *Arktouros: Hellenic studies presented to B.M.W. Knox on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, Berlin 1979, p. 376-382; U. COZZOLI, *I fondamenti del κόσμος licurgico nel pensiero di Plutarco*, *C & S* 66 (1978), p. 86-87, 90-91.

⁹ Cf. F. OLLIER, *Le mirage spartiate. Étude sur l'idéalisation de Sparte dans l'antiquité grecque de l'origine jusqu'aux cyniques*, Paris 1933 (repr. New York 1973), p. 294-326; E.N. TIGERSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), I, p. 279-304; E. DAVID, *Aristotle and Sparta*, *Anc-Soc* 13/14 (1982/83), p. 67-103; E. RAWSON, *The Spartan Tradition in European Thought*, Oxford 1969, p. 72-80; E. SCHÜTRUMPF, *Aristotle on Sparta*, in A. POWELL - S. HODKINSON (eds.), *The Shadow of Sparta*, London 1994, p. 323-345.

¹⁰ See especially U. COZZOLI, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 87ff.

exact identification of these sources and of their respective influences remains a thorny problem, it cannot be denied that, apart from valuable sources such as Aristotle's *Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεία*¹¹, some were of dubious quality: among others I mention in particular Aristokrates the son of Hipparchos, who contended that Lykourgos had visited the Indian gymnosophists (Plut., *Lyc.* 4.6), Hermippos of Smyrna (Plut., *Lyc.* 5.4, 23.3), known for his sensationalist biographies, and Sphaïros of Borys-thenes (Plut., *Lyc.* 5.12), whose *Λακωνική Πολιτεία* may have described the Lykourgan kosmos as a propagandistic model for the reforms of Agis and Kleomenes¹². Kessler even thought that he could identify Sphaïros, who in his writings would have projected his own philosophical theories into the past, as the source of all the chapters on the Lykourgan *παιδεία* (16-20). But this theory remains hypothetical¹³.

In the light of the questionable historical reliability of the *Vita Lycurgi* as a whole, let us now focus again on the passage dealing with the selection of the newborn¹⁴, for which, just as for some other details of Spartan education described in these chapters¹⁵, there is neither parallel nor contradictory evidence in any other source. It is at least remarkable that Xenophon, who in his *Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεία* drew a comparable

¹¹ Cf. E. DAVID, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 83-84.

¹² On these sources, their reliability and the use Plutarch made of them, see E.N. TIGERSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, p. 81-89; U. COZZOLI, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 85 n. 14. A concise survey of all the known sources of this *Vita* can be found in L. PICCIRILLI, *Cronologia relativa alle fonti delle Vite Lycurgi et Numae di Plutarco*, in *Miscellanea di Studi Classici in onore di E. Manni*, Roma 1980, V, p. 1755-1763; M. MANFREDINI - L. PICCIRILLI, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. XL-XLII, and for references to older but still valuable secondary literature, p. XLIX.

¹³ E. KESSLER, *Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie, 23)*, Berlin 1910, p. 108-109. A more sceptical view is taken by E. DAVID, *Sparta between Empire and Revolution (404-243 B.C.): Internal Problems and their Impact on Contemporary Greek Consciousness (Monographs in Classical Studies)*, New York 1981, p. 165-169.

¹⁴ The most important studies on this specific passage are: FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *Nouvelles recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire I. Recherches sur le droit de propriété chez les Grecs*, Paris 1891, p. 61-64; G. GLOTZ, *Expositio. Grèce*, in DAREMBERG - SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* II, Paris 1892, p. 937; M. DELCOURT, *Stérilités mystérieuses et naissances maléfiques dans l'antiquité classique (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 83)*, Liège 1938, p. 37-40; R. TOLLES, *Untersuchungen zur Kinderaussetzung bei den Griechen*, diss. Breslau 1941, p. 14-34; P. ROUSSEL, *L'exposition des enfants à Sparte*, *REA* 45 (1943), p. 5-17; M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 134-135, 152-153; D.M. MACDOWELL, *Spartan Law (Scottish Classical Studies, 1)*, Edinburgh 1986, p. 52-54, 94; S. LINK, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 28-30, 109-110.

¹⁵ Cf. E. KESSLER, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 74.

idealized picture of Sparta with much emphasis on the ἀγωγή as well as on eugenic marriage customs (1.4-9), does not breathe a word on it¹⁶. Proceeding to the analysis of this *testis unus*, we note, as previous scholars have done, that Plutarch's account seems to contaminate two different practices: first, a ritual which had to decide on the acknowledgement or rejection of any newborn child (similar to the Athenian *Amphidromia* but here controlled by the state), and secondly the assignment of an equal lot of land to every citizen, which could only include the first-born male infants, unless these had perished. Otherwise it would have been impossible to retain the 9000 lots undivided. Glotz tried to solve the paradox by suggesting that the public inspection was requested only in the case of male first-borns: the Spartan state wanted to make sure that no κλῆρος would be inherited by an individual incapable of performing military service. An additional difficulty of this text as it stands is that it clearly implies a communistic system in which the κλῆροι remained the property of the state: each Spartan's lot must have reverted to the tribe on his death to replenish the supply available for the newborn. But this is contradicted by other sources, including Plut., *Lyc.* 8.5-6 and *Agis* 5.2, which suggest that Lykourgos proceeded to a unique redistribution of the land in equal lots, without making the whole of the land state property or abolishing private inheritance. Cozzoli tried to explain this apparent contradiction by supposing Plutarch's use of two different sources, whereas Fustel de Coulanges, MacDowell and Nifassi proposed not to interpret *Lyk.* 16.1 too literally. Rather it should be read as a formal, symbolic pronouncement that the child was entitled to succeed to the possession of one of the 9000 lots when his father died: either the lot was temporarily assigned as a kind of joint property or a vacant lot was assigned to a second or third son, who could not be entitled to his father's¹⁷. However, in all these interpretations it seems absurd for the tribal elders to assign this usufruct or principal right of inheritance to newborn children, since natural mortality among infants and youths

¹⁶ R. TOLLES, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 22-23, speculated that Xenophon may have opposed selective infanticide because of his friendship with king Agesilaos, who had a congenital disability, and because he was convinced that bodily defects could be overcome by physical exercise. Evidently this is merely hypothetical.

¹⁷ U. COZZOLI, *Proprietà fondiaria ed esercito nello stato spartano dell'età classica* (*Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto Italiano per la Storia Antica*, 29), Roma 1979, p. 22-23; FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 63-64; D.M. MACDOWELL, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 94; M. NIFASSI, *La nascita del kosmos. Studi sulla storia e la società di Sparta* (*Università degli Studi di Perugia. Studi di storia e storiografia*), Napoli 1991, p. 105-107.

would have prevented many of them from reaching the age at which they could make use of their allocated lot. Even Nifassi's suggestion that this ceremonial was only meant to symbolically underline the public origin of the private lots does not explain why this ceremonial took place shortly after birth.

Apart from this contamination, there is an indication in the very text of Plutarch that he did not mean the child selection as such to be understood as a practice still extant in his own time, viz. his use of the imperfect tense (ἦν, ἔφερε, ἐκέλευον, ἀπέπεμπον). These forms clearly refer to a past custom, as appears from the contrast with the use of the present tense in a passage describing the ephebes' stealing of food and the endurance contest at the altar of Artemis Orthia (17.3–18.2). Both these institutions seem to have survived into the time of Plutarch: at least for the latter, the biographer explicitly states that, on a visit in Sparta, he was an eye-witness himself. So I agree with Kennell, who recently inferred from this contrast that the practice of state-controlled selective infanticide was no longer implemented in the Roman period¹⁸. I am even tempted to add that it must have died out much earlier. For the context of Plutarch's note on the selection of the newborns is clearly eugenic. It is preceded by marriage regulations with which Lykourgos, just as others do with the breeding of horses and dogs, aimed at the procreation of healthy children for the state (15.3–10), and is followed by the information that Spartan women bathed the new-born children with wine in order to test their physical endurance (16.2)¹⁹. Therefore there can be no doubt that the inspection of the newborns, in accordance with the harsh selection inherent in the whole ἀγωγή, was meant to eliminate the weak and to retain only the valuable elements for the welfare of the state. The official inspection, then, must have resulted from the fear that too many children of dubious complexion would have a chance of sur-

¹⁸ N.M. KENNEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 24–25. Less convincing is, in my view, the argument drawn by the same author from a letter from Pliny the Younger to Trajan (X 65.3): there previous communications are mentioned from the emperor Vespasian and his successors to the «Lacedaemonii» concerning ὀρεπτοί, foundlings who had been brought up in households as slaves. This only proves that abandoned children were to be found at Sparta in this period, but does not necessarily imply that these or other children cannot have been exposed as a result of an official selection procedure. Moreover, since these letters have been lost, we do not know whether these ὀρεπτοί belonged to the small group of the true Spartans.

¹⁹ See on this passage E. EYBEN, *Children in Plutarch*, in L. VAN DER STOCKT (ed.), *Plutarchea Lovaniensia. A Miscellany of Essays on Plutarch (Studia Hellenistica, 32)*, Leuven 1996, p. 88.

viving if the decision was left to the father. But this again seems to be contradicted by what we learn from several sources to have been Spartan population policy. Since declining manpower (*ὀλιγανθρωπία*) was one of the chronic problems the Spartan state had to face, laws were enacted, in addition to the legal obligation for men to marry, to encourage the raising of children: for example a father was exempted from military service when he had three children, and from all taxation once he had four (cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* 1270b)²⁰. The obvious way to reconcile these historical facts with the eugenic policy of the Spartans as described by Plutarch is to suppose that the biographer and his unknown source are in fact describing an archaic custom which was no longer practiced at the time of Aristotle²¹. At most, when the *ὀλιγανθρωπία* had become precarious, the selection procedure might have survived as a kind of mock ritual, an evolution similar to that of the *Amphidromia*, originally a ritual inspection of a newborn child whereby a father had to decide whether he accepted it or not, but in later times probably no more than a ceremonial ingredient of a family party²².

However, in another recent book Link has offered a completely different solution: in his opinion, which radically rejects Plutarch's interpretation of the practice, the state-controlled inspection of newborns was intended to prevent fathers from rejecting too many children in view of

²⁰ On this question, see P. CARTLEDGE, *Sparta and Lakonia. A Regional History 1300-362 BC*, London-Boston 1979, p. 307-318; T.J. FIGUEIRA, *Population Patterns in Late Archaic and Classical Sparta*, *TAPhA* 116 (1986), p. 165-213; and the bibliography in J. DUCAT, *Bulletin de bibliographie thématique: histoire*, *REG* 96 (1983), p. 223-224.

²¹ Cf. U. KAHRSTEDT, *Griechisches Staatsrecht I: Sparta und seine Symmachie*, Göttingen 1922, p.127: «daß die scharfe Kontrolle bei der sinkenden Bürgerzahl im fünften Jahrhundert überhaupt einschliefe», but this author did not trust Plutarch's connection of child selection and assignment of *κλῆρος* even for the earlier period (cf. p. 16 n. 3). However, even Tolles, who was convinced of the historicity of Plutarch's testimony, admitted (*op. cit.* [n. 14], p. 33-34) that in later times, esp. from the fourth century B.C. onwards, the selection of newborns could no longer have been practiced on the same scale. L.R.F. GERMAIN, *L'exposition des enfants nouveau-nés dans la Grèce ancienne. Aspects sociologiques*, in *L'enfant*, I (*Recueils de la Société J. Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, 35), Brussels 1975, p. 221-222 with n. 38, also thought that the practice must have existed in archaic Sparta, but that it was no longer effective in the fourth century B.C., which would explain the silence of contemporary Athenian authors. On the other hand, T.J. FIGUEIRA, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 171-172, calculated that infant allocation of 9000 lots implied a population of only 5000 adult *Spartiatatai*, but in my view his argument is based on a much too literal interpretation of *Lyc.* 16.2.

²² Cf. P. STENGEL, *art. Amphidromia*, in *RE* I 2 (1894), col. 1901-1902; L.R.F. GERMAIN, *art. cit.*, p. 227 n. 45; A. PARADISO, *L'aggrégation du nouveau-né au foyer familial: les Amphidromies*, *DHA* 14 (1988), p. 203-218 (with a comparison between the *Amphidromia*-ritual and Spartan child selection on p. 209-210).

the state's need of sufficient military manpower. Longing to keep the family property undivided, Spartan fathers would have been reluctant to raise more than one son. In this view, the official child inspection would have been in perfect accordance with the other just mentioned pronatalist measures. Yet it seems unlikely that such a regulation could have prevented a father from killing or abandoning his child before presenting it to the elders — it would have been simply impossible to control this. Very probably he retained, at least in practice, the possibility to reject the infant himself, just as in any other Greek state²³ — think of the somewhat mysterious statement in Dion. Hal. XX 13.2 that, in contrast with Roman custom, Spartan state interference stopped at the door of the private house. Despite similarities, the Spartan regulation differed considerably from the humanitarian law issued by Romulus according to Dion. Hal. II 15.2, which prohibited infanticide except in the case of a *παιδίον ἀνάπηρον ἢ τέρας*: the parents were allowed to expose such a child on the condition that they found five of their neighbours in agreement after inspection. Here the context shows that the law aimed to prevent the killing of healthy children. That is the reason why the control had to be exercised by the neighbours (*ἄνδρασι τοῖς ἔγγιστα οἰκοῦσιν*) and not by state officials or tribal elders: only neighbours would be aware of the mother's pregnancy and so be alarmed when the law was broken²⁴. Admittedly, the law of Romulus, as well as the Spartan regulation as reported by Plutarch and the Athenian *Amphidromia*-ritual, may point to a common substrate of primitive tribal customs which were not necessarily eugenic but aimed at some sort of balance between the private interests of the parents, the interests of the *γένος* and those of the whole community. However, what matters in the present investigation is the question whether this primitive custom was transformed in ancient Sparta into a state-controlled institution as

²³ Cf. G. GLOTZ, *art. cit.* (n. 14), p. 937; D.M. MACDOWELL, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 54; M. CLAUS, *Sparta: eine Einführung in seine Geschichte und Zivilisation*, München 1983, p. 143.

²⁴ Cf. S. LINK, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 110 n. 14. On this law, of which the historicity is very questionable, see M. DELCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 49-51 (she gives another but far-fetched explanation for the choice of the neighbours as arbitrating committee); W. DEN BOER, *Private Morality in Greece and Rome: Some Historical Aspects (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 57)*, Leiden 1979, p. 98-99; E. EYBEN, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 26 n. 77; M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 145-146, 159; D.W. AMUNDSEN, *Medicine and the Birth of Defective Infants: Approaches of the Ancient World*, in R.C. McMILLAN – H.T. ENGELHARDT – S.F. SPICKER (eds.), *Euthanasia and the Newborn. Conflicts regarding Saving Lives (Philosophy and Medicine, 24)*, Dordrecht 1987, p. 11; W.V. HARRIS, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 2-3.

described by Plutarch. Within the framework of the Lykourgan state concept and the elitist character of the whole ἀγωγή, Link's explanation of the institution completely misses the point²⁵. But it comfortably permitted him to accept the historicity of the practice as being in harmony with Sparta's general population policy. My option for the more traditional interpretation, on the contrary, necessarily undermines its historical reliability.

It is clear from the way Plutarch introduces the quoted passage that the reason why he found the infanticidal practice worth mentioning was the element of state interference in a domain where the family father normally had the last word. Remarkable, in his eyes, was the interference of the Lykourgan model state in a matter of family planning. Undoubtedly there were no parallels in the classical Greek world for such eugenic policy except for the imaginary ideal states of philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. This peculiar connection, combined with the paradoxical character of our passage and the aforementioned tendency of Plutarch to prefer the Platonic ideas behind history to historical exactness, has led some scholars to the opinion that the whole sequence is simply a fiction, borrowed by Plutarch from Plato's *Republic*²⁶. This extreme position, however, is untenable: comparing the general formulation of the philosophical text (see below) with the explicit details of Plutarch's account, including the place-names λέσχη and Ἀποθέται, one inevitably comes to the conclusion that Plutarch has made use of another source that gave precise information on local Spartan customs²⁷. The attribution of the responsibility to the elders of the Dorian tribes, otherwise unimportant according to our sources, has an equally genuine flavour²⁸. So Plutarch cannot have invented this piece of information but he may have selected it in keeping with his Platonic conception, and he certainly had in mind Platonic eugenics when writing this passage²⁹. The

²⁵ Another misinterpretation, likewise rejecting Plutarch's own eugenic explanation, has been proposed by Delcourt: she tries to prove that the original reason for the practice would have been the superstitious fear of the τέρας. But her arguments have been successfully refuted by P. ROUSSEL, *art. cit.* (n. 14), p. 6-16, and M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 153 n. 12.

²⁶ J.J. MULHERN, *Population and Plato's 'Republic'*, *Arethusa* 8 (1975), p. 275.

²⁷ This argument has been used in favour of the historicity of the passage by R. TOLLES, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 20-21 and M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 134.

²⁸ Cf. T.J. FIGUEIRA, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 171.

²⁹ Cf. H.D. RANKIN, *Plato's Eugenic Εὐφημία and Ἀπόθεσις in Republic, Book V*, *Hermes* 93 (1965), p. 411-412.

implied etymology of the toponym Ἀποθέται points to an antiquarian source, in which the origin of the name was explained by an institution probably belonging to a far past. Modern attempts to determine the exact geographical location of the Ἀποθέται are merely conjectural — there is no reason to identify the place with the Καιάδας or Κεάδας, a chasm into which criminals were cast (cf. Thuc. I 134.4; Paus. IV 18.4) and which can still be viewed by modern tourists³⁰, even though Plutarch by his use of the adjective βαρathρόδη seems to have associated the place with the Athenian βάραθρον³¹. Anyhow the explicit mention of the toponym makes the most sense if it remains as the only testimony of an extinct practice connected with a specific location. Even in present-day Sardinia some place names bear witness to the existence of rocks from which illegitimate or unwanted neonates would have been precipitated: these toponyms and the oral tradition linking them to the practice of infanticide are the only remaining evidence³². All this seems to confirm the above-mentioned view that the Spartan state had ceased the practice of selective infanticide already several centuries before the time of Plutarch.

Thus our discussion of the reliability of Plutarch's account of Spartan selective infanticide, based mainly on the results of previous scholarship, yields the following conclusions. The attribution of the institution to Lykourgos evidently belongs to the realm of legend, and the contamination with the land reform guaranteeing equality through the 9000 immutable lots is due to Plutarch or his source. But a kernel of historicity is certainly present in the very practice of state-controlled child selection. However, the question remains whether it was nothing more than the reminiscence of a primitive custom of the Dorian tribe from which the

³⁰ On this Καιάδας see VON GEISAU, in *RE* X 2 (1919), col. 1496, and W.K. PRITCHETT, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography* V (*University of California Publications / Classical Studies*, 31), Berkeley 1985, p. 58-60. On a possible identification with the Ἀποθέται see G. HIRSCHFELD, in *RE* II 1 (1895), col. 188. One way or another this identification seems to have been popularized, as appears from an article in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (4 March 1983): «Im Sparta des Altertums wurden Kinder mit körperlichen Gebrechen lebendig in die Schlucht des Kaiadas beim Berg Taigetos geworfen».

³¹ On Plutarch's transposition of the Athenian term to this Spartan locality: H.D. RANKIN, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 412.

³² These rocks are called «Iskerveddapitzinnos» («Baby-brain-shatterer») and «Inglut-titheraccos» («Baby-swallower»): cf. M. PITTAU, *Geronticidio, eutanasia ed infanticidio nella Sardegna antica*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana. Atti dell' VIII convegno di studio* (Cagliari, 14-16 dicembre 1990) (*Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Storia dell' Università degli Studi di Sassari*, 18), Sassari 1991, p. 709-711.

Spartans descended, or whether it was consciously institutionalized as an instrument of eugenic policy in archaic and perhaps even classical Sparta. Plutarch clearly opted for the latter alternative but the rightness of this option cannot be proved. At any rate it would be in keeping with the presence of other elements of the Spartan kosmos recognized by anthropologists as primitive traits deriving from tribal social organization. It is not clear, however, to what extent community-controlled infanticide was practised in primitive tribes. Many authors state that it was, but they rarely give concrete examples³³. As far as I know, in most tribes known for a high rate of infanticide, the decision whether or not a newborn child should be reared rests exclusively with both or one of the parents³⁴. Plutarch's text, then, although it has a historical kernel, is not historically reliable! We cannot get a grip of the primitive custom to which it refers, and its incorporation within the Lykourgan kosmos is clearly part of the idealized constitution thinkers from the fifth century B.C. onwards have used as a projection of their own utopian society model, and which modern scholars have called the 'Spartan legend'³⁵. To illustrate this I will

³³ This was keenly observed by M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 153 n. 12, 15. See for example H. BERVE, *Sparta*, Leipzig 1937, p. 39: «Alte Stammessitte»; M. PITTAU, *art. cit.*, p. 709: «L'usanza della soppressione dei neonati gracili e deformi è da noi conosciuta con riferimento all' antica Sparta, ma in effetti era molto comune anche presso altri popoli antichi e lo è tuttora nel presente presso alcune popolazioni primitive», but he does not quote any reference or concrete example.

³⁴ Numerous examples of primitive peoples who practiced infanticide are given by N. MILLER, *The Child in Primitive Society* (*Library of Educational Psychology*), London 1928, p. 36-39, but as far as I can gather from the available evidence, the decision was nearly always taken by the parents. By way of example, one may point to the specific cases of the Bolivian Ayoreo (cf. P.E. BUGOS – L.M. MCCARTHY, *Ayoreo Infanticide: a Case Study*, in G. HAUSFATER – S.B. HRDY (eds.), *Infanticide: Comparative and Evolutionary Perspectives* [*Biological Foundations of Human Behavior*], New York 1984, p. 508, 510) and the Netsilik Eskimo (cf. K. GUTING, *Theorien über den Infantizid und ihre Darstellung am Beispiel der Netsilik-Eskimo* [*Mundus-Reihe Ethnologie*, 17], Bonn 1987, p. 83-84). S.C.M. SCRIMSHAW, *Infanticide in Human Populations: Societal and Individual Concerns*, in *Infanticide*, p. 445, distinguishes in her general scheme between the parents, the family, the birth attendant and a powerful figure in society as the decision makers, but she gives no evidence illustrating this last category, and concludes (p. 448): «The decision maker in infanticide is most often the infant's mother or father».

³⁵ F. OLLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 9) and ID., *Le mirage spartiate. Étude sur l'idéalisation de Sparte dans l'antiquité grecque du début de l'école cynique jusqu'à la fin de la cité*, Paris 1943 (repr. New York 1973); E.N. TIGERSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 6); E. RAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 9). It is beyond discussion that the Lykourgan kosmos may be considered one of the oldest utopias of Western literature. It is classified for example as nr. 1 in the list of M. WINTER, *Compendium Utopiarum: Typologie und Bibliographie literarischer Utopien I: Von der Antike bis zur deutschen Frühaufklärung* (*Repertorien zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 8), Stuttgart 1978, p. 1-2, and has an important place in surveys of utopian models in

now briefly survey how Spartan-like selective infanticide functions as a stock ingredient in several other projects of ideal societies in antiquity.

2. SPARTAN INFANTICIDE AND ANCIENT UTOPIAN TRADITION

As a consequence of the foregoing analysis, when I refer, in the following survey, to the ‘Spartan (practice of) selective infanticide’, I do not mean a historical reality, which we cannot reconstruct, but the institution described by Plutarch and belonging to the Spartan legend. As this legend dates back several centuries before Plutarch, it is no problem that the following texts are all much older than the *Vita Lycurgi*.

Both Plato and Aristotle comment on the treatment of defective newborns in their ideal state concepts. Plato wrote very euphemistically or at least very abstrusely on this topic, and the interpretation of his ambiguous statements on infanticide has provoked a lively debate. The crucial passage is *Republic* V 460c, where Sokrates deals with the communistic organization of the marriages and children of the guardian class in his ideal state:

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δοκῶ, λαβοῦσαι εἰς τὸν σηκὸν οἴσουσιν παρά τινας τροφούς χωρὶς οἰκούσας ἔν τινι μέρει τῆς πόλεως· τὰ δὲ τῶν χειρόνων, καὶ ἔάν τι τῶν ἐτέρων ἀνάπηρον γίγνηται, ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τε καὶ ἀδήλῳ κατακρύψουσιν ὥς πρέπει. Εἴπερ μέλλει, ἔφη, καθαρὸν τὸ γένος τῶν φυλάκων ἔσεσθαι.

The offspring of the good, I suppose, they will take to the pen or crèche, to certain nurses who live apart in a quarter of the city, but the offspring of the inferior, and any of those of the other sort who are born defective, they will properly dispose of in secret, so that no one will know what has become of them. That is the condition, he said, of preserving the purity of the guardians’ breed³⁶.

The debate has focused on the meaning of the mysterious phrase ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ τε καὶ ἀδήλῳ κατακρύψουσιν. Some scholars have maintained that this is merely a euphemism for infanticide; others have criticized this view, holding that Plato was only interested in preserving the

antiquity and later: cf. J. FERGUSON, *Utopias of the Classical World*, London 1975, p. 29-39; H. SWOBODA (ed.), *Der Traum vom besten Staat: Texte aus Utopien von Platon bis Morris*, München 1975², p. 43-56; D. DAWSON, *Cities of the Gods. Communist Utopias in Greek Thought*, New York-Oxford 1992, p. 22-37, 46-50.

³⁶ Translation of P. SHOREY, *Plato*, vol. V 1: *The Republic, Books I-V* (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge (MA) – London 1930, p. 463.

purity of the class of the guardians and allowed inferior offspring to be raised as members of the other classes³⁷. Several good arguments have been advanced for the latter view. The whole of this sequence is dominated by animal metaphor: the eugenic improvement of the elite of the guardians is to be compared with the breeding of animals — compare the use of *σηκός* («stable») in the quoted passage. For this purpose it is necessary to ensure that only selected individuals may mate and produce new children, not to destroy inferior offspring. Plato did not envisage the creation of a superior race or ‘Herrenvolk’, as did Nazi-ideology, he only wanted to make sure that his *Kallipolis* would be governed by a true elite. It is logical, then, that elsewhere in his *Republic* (415b-c) he speaks of the degradation of inferior guardians to other classes and that in his recapitulation of the *Republic* in the *Timaios* (19a) he unambiguously states that the children of inferior guardians are to be distributed secretly among households in the rest of the city, i.e. among the other classes. Also, the communal handling of disabled infants and τὰ τῶν χειρόνων is an argument against the interpretation that both should be exposed to death, since for the former category there are parallels in the other texts discussed here, whereas for the latter group this procedure would be extraordinarily drastic. Moreover, a similar fate awaited offspring born of guardians who had passed the appointed ages for childbearing — in 461c Sokrates says that there should be no τροφή for them, which probably means that they may not be raised as guardians.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that many critics who found Platonic eugenics repellent have tried to censure or to gloss over this specific passage from Book V. Why does Plato here use terminology with connotations of religious taboo (esp. ἀπόρητος), if this was not meant as a euphemism to express his awe at the fate awaiting those chil-

³⁷ The former view was defended by J. ADAM, *The Republic of Plato*, ed. with critical notes, commentary and appendices, Cambridge 1963², p. 357-360; M. DELCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 42-43; R. TOLLES, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 18-19; H.D. RANKIN, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 407-420; P. CARRICK, *Medical Ethics in Antiquity. Philosophical Perspectives on Abortion and Euthanasia (Philosophy and Medicine, 18)*, Dordrecht-Boston-Lancaster 1985, p. 114-115. The latter view was argued by G. VAN N. VILJOEN, *Plato and Aristotle on the Exposure of Infants at Athens, AClass 2* (1959), p. 63-66; M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 142-144, 157-158; J.J. MULHERN, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 274-281; J.F.M. ARENDS, *Die Einheit der Polis. Eine Studie über Platons Staat (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 106)*, Leiden 1988, p. 436-438. A useful survey of the question can be found in W.K.C. GUTHRIE, *A History of Greek Philosophy IV. Plato, the Man and his Dialogues: Earlier Period*, Cambridge 1975, p. 481-482.

dren³⁸? The use of this almost magic εὐφημία seems superfluous when applied to the mere demotion of inferior guardian offspring. And finally, Plato may have changed his ideas on this point: in the whole sequence on the communality of wives and children and on the eugenic rules for procreation, his Sokrates is carried away by the fervour of a prophetic νομοθέτης developing his project to its extreme consequences, which Plato afterwards³⁹ no longer supported and perhaps even never unequivocally adhered to: this dialogue is drenched in irony, which should warn us not to automatically interpret Sokrates' statements as straightforward reflections of Platonic sentiment⁴⁰.

For our present investigation it is important to bear in mind that the philosopher in his overall design of an ideal city-state was largely influenced by the Spartan model, even though he at the same time departs from it in several respects⁴¹. His proposals for eugenic control of the upper class citizens is completely analogous with the Spartan ideal and the similar attitude towards defective neonates in both systems is merely the logical consequence of this analogy. Since Plato deemed the eugenic improvement of the rulers a necessary condition for his reformed society, he was inevitably driven to also accept the eugenic rejection of any genetically defective elements of the upper class. But he either resolved this paradox by redistributing these elements among the other classes, as clearly advocated in the *Timaios*, or may have tacitly acquiesced, at least in this section of the *Republic*, in what we nowadays would call passive euthanasia. In any event, the euphemistic language used here, which contrasts with that of the parallel texts quoted in this paper, bespeaks his desire not to be explicit about ἀπόθεςις and is consistent with his elevated ethical conception of the ideal state.

Despite Aristotle's reserve towards the Spartan system⁴², he himself described in the last books of his *Politics* an imaginary ideal society

³⁸ The adequacy of this religious terminology when applied to an almost ritual ἀπόθεςις was featured especially by M. DELCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 42-43, and H.D. RANKIN, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 412-416.

³⁹ Cf. *The Timaeus of Plato*, ed. with introd. and notes by R.D. ARCHER-HIND (*Classical Library*), London 1888, p. 60.

⁴⁰ Cf. J.J. MULHERN, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 280. I would not go as far as to interpret the whole evocation of the projected Kallipolis as Plato's ironical denunciation of his own utopia, as has been argued by some scholars, such as D. CADY, *Individual Fulfillment [Not Social Engineering]*, *Idealistic Studies* 13 (1983), p. 240-248 (with her references to the works of J. Uemura).

⁴¹ Cf. F. OLLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 217ff.; E.N. TIGERSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), I, p. 251-255; D. DAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 78-91.

⁴² Cf. *supra* p. 50 n. 9.

which was largely dependent on both the Platonic and the Spartan models. On the regulations concerning defective newborns in this ideal constitution he is extremely brief (*Pol.* VII 1335b):

περὶ δὲ ἀποθέσεως καὶ τροφῆς τῶν γιγνομένων ἔστω νόμος
μὴδὲν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν·

As to the exposure and rearing of children born, let there be a law forbidding the rearing of any deformed child.

Although the philosopher does not prescribe any regulations for the inspection and the determination of the disability of the newborn, he agrees with the Lykourgan model insofar as the parents must not themselves decide whether to rear a deformed infant, as the state interferes with a legal obligation. As in Plutarch's idealized Sparta, this obligation concerned only the elite, those who were exempted from having to earn their livelihood because of their exclusive military and political occupations. Nor can there be any doubt that, analogously, the law was meant to be restrictive, in that it enforced the elimination of defective children who might otherwise survive by the pity of the parents⁴³. Aristotle continues that exposure for the mere purpose of child limitation, when public opinion is against it, is to be replaced by more preventive measures. This seems to imply that he supposed that public opinion would not oppose the exposure or destruction of disabled neonates. Yet the fact that he recommends a law forbidding child-rearing in such cases proves that there was a risk of individual crippled children surviving, a risk that could not be taken in an ideal state⁴⁴. At the same time it should be underlined that Aristotle, just like Plato, does not explicitly mention infanticide, but speaks only of μὴ τρέφειν and ἀποτιθεσθαι: although the consequences may in practice have been the same, the distinction has some importance from an ethical point of view, just as the distinction made nowadays between active and passive euthanasia.

⁴³ On the parallellism between this passage and the Spartan practice: L. VAN HOOK, *The Exposure of Infants at Athens*, *TAPhA* 51 (1920), p. 123-124; M. DELCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 43-44. On the other hand, Spartan influence is rather minimized by R. TOLLES, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 53. On the interpretation of this passage, see esp. A. CAMERON, *The Exposure of Children and Greek Ethics*, *CR* 46 (1932), p. 109; G. VAN N. VIJJOEN, *art. cit.* (n. 37), p. 66-69; L.R.F. GERMAIN, *Aspects du droit d'exposition en Grèce*, *RD* 47 (1969), p. 182; *id.*, *art. cit.* (n. 21), p. 232-234; M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 144-145, 158-159; P. CARRICK, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 116; D.W. AMUNDSEN, *art. cit.* (n. 24), p. 10; R. OLDENZIEL, *The Historiography of Infanticide in Antiquity. A Literature Stillborn*, in J. BLOK – P. MASON (eds.), *Sexual Asymmetry, Studies in Ancient Society*, Amsterdam 1987, p. 89-90.

⁴⁴ This was highlighted by M. SCHMIDT, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 145, 159 n. 93.

Apart from Plato's and Aristotle's philosophical utopias, some more romantic ancient utopias have come down to us in the guise of pseudo-historical or plainly fictitious travel accounts. Although Plato's *Atlantis* could function as a kind of model, this genre only flourished from the Hellenistic period, when the traditional boundaries of the Greek polis were exceeded. In this literature Spartan selective infanticide is moved to distant non-Hellenic tribes, but remains in essence identical. At the end of the fourth century, Alexander's pilot Onesikritos, in his Πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη (ca. 320-305 B.C.), attributed the practice to the idealized Indian people of the reign of king Sopeithes. Although the work of Onesikritos himself is lost⁴⁵, three testimonia have come down to us, one of which refers explicitly to Onesikritos as its authority⁴⁶:

– Diodorus Siculus XVII 91.4-6:

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ Σωπεΐθην τεταγμένας πόλεις, εὐνομουμένας καθ' ὑπερβολήν. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα πρὸς δόξαν πολιτεύονται καὶ τὸ κάλλος παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμιώτατον νενόμισται. διόπερ ἐκ νηπίου παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ βρέφη διακρίνεται καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρτια καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντα πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ ἰσχὺν εὐθετον τρέφεται, τὰ δὲ καταδεῖ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀνάξια τροφῆς ἡγούμενοι διαφθείρουσιν.

Next he undertook a campaign against the cities under the rule of Sopeithes. These are exceedingly well-governed. All the functions of this state are directed toward the acquiring of good repute, and beauty is valued there more than anything. Therefore, their children are subjected from birth to a process of selection. Those who are well formed and designed by nature to have a fine appearance and bodily strength are reared, while those who are bodily deficient are destroyed as not worth bringing up⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ On Onesikritos: F. JACOBY, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* II B, Leiden 1962, *Text*, p. 723ff. (no. 134); *Kommentar*, p. 468ff.; T.S. BROWN, *Onesikritos: a Study in Hellenistic Historiography* (University of California Publications in History, 39), Berkeley 1949; P. PÉDECH, *Historiens, compagnons d'Alexandre: Callisthène, Onésicrite, Néarque, Ptolémée, Aristobule* (Collection d'Études Anciennes), Paris 1984, p. 71-157; more specifically on his function in the fleet of Alexander, but with abundant general bibliography: H. HAUBEN, *Onesikritos and the Hellenistic 'Archikybernesis'*, in W. WILL – J. HEINRICHS (eds.), *Zu Alexander d. Gr. Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag*, Amsterdam 1987, p. 569-593.

⁴⁶ The three passages have been compared systematically by J. LENS TUERO, *En Catai y en el reino de Sopites*, in ID., *Estudios sobre Diodoro de Sicilia*, Granada 1994, p. 23-31.

⁴⁷ Translation of C.B. WELLES, *Diodorus of Sicily*, vol. VIII (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge (MA) – London 1963, p. 385.

– Strabo XV 1.30 = *FGrHist* 134 F21:

ἐν δὲ τῇ Καθαίᾳ καινότατον ἱστορεῖται τὸ περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ὅτι τιμᾶται διαφερόντως, ὥς ἵππων καὶ κυνῶν βασιλέα τε γὰρ τὸν κάλλιστον αἰρεῖσθαι φησιν Ὀνησίκριτος, γενόμενόν τε παιδίον μετὰ δίμηνον κρίνεσθαι δημοσίᾳ πότερον ἔξοι τὴν ἔννομον μορφήν καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀξίαν ἢ οὐ, κριθέντα δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποδειχθέντος ἄρχοντος ζῆν ἢ θανατοῦσθαι.

As for Cathaea, a most novel regard for beauty there is reported; I mean that it is prized in an exceptional manner, as, for example, for the beauty of its horses and dogs; and, in fact, Onesicritus says that they choose the handsomest person as king, and that a child is judged in public after it is two months old as to whether it has the beauty of form required by law and is worthy to live or not; and that when it is judged by the appointed magistrate it is allowed to live or is put to death⁴⁸.

– Quintus Curtius Rufus IX 1.24-5:

Hinc in regnum Sophites perventum est. Gens, ut Barbari credunt, sapientia excellet bonisque moribus regitur. Genitos liberos non parentum arbitrio tollunt aluntque, sed eorum, quibus spectandi infantum habitum cura mandata est. Si quos insignes aut aliqua parte membrorum inutiles notaverunt, necari iubent.

From there he came into the realm of Sopithes. That nation, as the barbarians believe, excels in wisdom and is governed in accordance with good customs. The children that are born they acknowledge and rear, not according to the discretion of their parents, but of those to whom the charge of the physical examination of children has been committed. If these have noted any who are abnormal or are crippled in some part of their limbs, they give orders to put them to death⁴⁹.

There is no reason to doubt Strabo's reference to Onesikritos and the common origin of these three accounts, although none of them seems to have been borrowed directly from that author: very probably all three derive from Kleitarchos' Alexander-history, which drew partly on Onesikritos⁵⁰ and was still extremely popular in Roman times. Scholars generally agree that most anecdotes and details Diodoros and Quintus Cur-

⁴⁸ Translation of H.L. JONES, *Strabo. Geography*, vol. VII (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge (MA) – London 1930, p. 53.

⁴⁹ Translation (slightly adapted) of J.C. ROLFE, *Quintus Curtius*, vol. II: *Books VI-X* (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge (MA) – London 1962, p. 371-373.

⁵⁰ Cf. F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 45), *Kommentar*, p. 469, 471; ID., art. *Kleitarchos*, in *RE* XI 1 (1921), col. 653; P. PÉDECH, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 157.

tius have in common go back to Kleitarchos⁵¹. Only concerning divergent details is there any discussion⁵². But in this case the differences between the three versions are minimal, and the three accounts all contain the same three elements. First of all, the decision whether or not to rear a newborn child does not depend on the parents, but, similarly to Spartan infanticide, is taken by state officials (Strabo: δημοσία, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποδειχθέντος ἄρχοντος; Quintus Curtius: *eorum, quibus spectandi infantum habitum cura mandata est*; Diodoros is not so explicit, but the introductory πόλεις, εὐνομουμένας ... πολιτεύονται strongly suggests that the following sentence does not concern a custom of the private family but an official institution). Secondly, the process of selection is based exclusively on the physical qualities or deficiencies of the child. And thirdly it is stated unambiguously that death awaits the infants who are rejected by the selection: there is no trace here of the euphemisms or reserve expressed by Plato and Aristotle, and Strabo's harsh dilemma ζῆν ἢ θανατοῦσθαι is surpassed by both Diodoros and Curtius with their explicit verbs of killing (διαφθείρουσιν; *necari*), which are lacking even in the text of Plutarch. As to content, the only significant difference is the detail of the period of two months between the child's birth and the selection, a detail only mentioned by Strabo (μετὰ δίμηνον)⁵³. Probably this was no invention of Strabo's, as I see no reason for the addition of such precise information, which was by no means indispensable and thus could easily be omitted by the other authors using the same source. And it is a characteristic common to

⁵¹ Cf. P. GOUKOWSKY, *Diodore de Sicile. Bibliothèque historique*, vol. XII: *Livre XVII* (Collection des Universités de France), Paris 1976, p. IX-XXXI; R. EGGE, *Untersuchungen zur Primärtradition bei Q. Curtius Rufus. Die alexanderfeindliche Überlieferung*, diss. Freiburg i.Br. 1978, p. 29-40; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great: the so-called Vulgate Authors Diodorus, Justin and Curtius* (Cambridge Classical Studies), Cambridge 1983, p. 160-165, and specifically on the quoted passages p. 63, 151. Likewise for the whole description of the Land of Sopeithes P. PÉDECH, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 124 n. 50, and J. LENS TUERO, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 29, assume Diodoros' dependence on Kleitarchos, who in his turn drew on Onesikritos.

⁵² For example the identification of Kathaia with the realm of Sopeithes, two different countries according to most other sources, is possibly due to a contamination by Strabo himself: cf. F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 45), *Kommentar*, p. 477; J. LENS TUERO, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 23-25. T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 52, 75, asserts that there is no way of telling how much Strabo got from Onesikritos and how much he got elsewhere, but this concerns the whole of the Jacoby-fragment, whereas the passage that interests us depends directly on φησιν Ὀνησίκριτος.

⁵³ I do not understand why Brown (*op. cit.* [n. 45], p. 52) speaks of «the inspection of two-weeks-old children».

many different cultures that a period of time must elapse before a newborn is acknowledged as a fully human member of the community, a period which can vary from one or several days to a year or even more⁵⁴.

The question now arises whether this description by Kleitarchos-Onesikritos of the customs and traditions of an Indian nation has any historical basis. All that is known about the Indians from antiquity to the present seems to rule out the large-scale practice of infanticide; certainly Brahmanic religion was opposed to it, although theoretically infanticide could have been practised by tribes that have now disappeared without trace⁵⁵. Furthermore both Kleitarchos and Onesikritos are notoriously unreliable because of their fondness for fantastic stories. Already in antiquity Kleitarchos, who had not accompanied Alexander, was known for his flagrant disregard of historical truth (cf. *FGrHist* 137 T6, T7)⁵⁶. For his part Onesikritos, who was a pupil of the Cynic Diogenes of Sinope, combined historiography with philosophical utopia. Alexander became a «philosopher in arms», who propagated Greek cosmopolitan culture around the world. However, since Onesikritos did not find all his ideals realized in Greek civilization, he transposed them to the institutions of India or to the wisdom of Indian gymnosophists, just as Xenophon in his *Kyroupaideia*, the model for Onesikritos' work, had projected his own views into the Persian figure of Kyros⁵⁷. This is not to say that all details on India reported by Onesikritos are pure fiction — some of them are confirmed by other companions of Alexander such as Aristoboulos and Nearchos, e.g. the dyeing of beards mentioned by Strabo just after the passage cited above (cf. Arrianos, *Ind.* 16.4 = *FGrHist* 133 F11)⁵⁸ — but certainly he used them as an exotic setting for the development of his own moral concepts. There can be no doubt, for example, that Cynic views were put in the mouths of the Indian

⁵⁴ Cf. S.C.M. SCRIMSHAW, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 441.

⁵⁵ Cf. J. ANDRÉ – J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde vue de Rome: textes latins de l'Antiquité relatifs à l'Inde* (Collection d'Études Anciennes), Paris 1986, p. 351. Female infanticide, however, seems to have occurred to a certain extent: cf. S.C.M. SCRIMSHAW, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 439.

⁵⁶ Cf. P. GOUKOWSKY, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. XIX-XXXI; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 23-26; ID., *Sources for Alexander the Great: an Analysis of Plutarch's Life and Arrian's Anabasis Alexandrou* (Cambridge Classical Studies), Cambridge 1993, p. 328-329.

⁵⁷ Cf. F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 45), *Kommentar*, p. 468-469; T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 13-16, 19-22. Note that the idealization of the Indians is already present in the *Kyroupaideia* (II 4.7) as well.

⁵⁸ Cf. T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 42-43.

naked sages in their conversation with Alexander⁵⁹ nor that Cynic conceptions influenced his description of marriage customs in the Land of Sopeithes⁶⁰.

For the custom of state-controlled selective infanticide in India Onesikritos is our *testis unus*. This strengthens the suspicion, uttered by several scholars, that this piece of information is pure fantasy, in which the author ingeniously connected the general importance of physical beauty in this Indian nation with the Spartan model⁶¹. Again we might compare this with the *Kyroupaideia*, where Xenophon transposed elements of the Spartan ἀγωγή to a Persian context⁶². It is perhaps not too hazardous to speculate that the resemblance between Plutarch's τὸ ... πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ῥώμην πεφυκός and the corresponding phrase in Diodoros τὰ ... τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντα πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ ἰσχὺν εὐθετον is due to an ultimate dependence on a common source dealing with Spartan customs. When describing the Indians of the Land of Mousikanos Onesikritos explicitly called their public meals «Laconian» (συσσίτια Λακωνικά) and compared their use of young men instead of slaves with the service of the Helots (cf. Strabo XV 1.34 = *FGrHist* 134 F24)⁶³. Another comparison with Sparta is made in Diod. XVII 104.2, mentioning the institutions of the Indian nation of Patala, ruled by a council of elders and by two kings. Scholars agree that this too must derive from Onesikritos⁶⁴, who may have been fascinated by the Spartan legend as a consequence of his philosophical schooling. His teacher Diogenes of Sinope had proposed his own project for an ideal society in his Πολιτεία, which, as we have seen, was compared by Plutarch (*Lyc.* 31.2) with the Lykourgan

⁵⁹ Cf. T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 38-51; C.G. HANSEN, *Alexander und die Brahmanen*, *Klio* 43-45 (1965), p. 351-380; R. VISCHER, *Das einfache Leben: wort- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem Wertbegriff der antiken Literatur*, Göttingen 1965, p. 107-108; P. PÉDECH, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 104-114; D. DAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 124.

⁶⁰ Cf. J. LENS TUERO, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 29-31.

⁶¹ T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 52: «He is probably borrowing from Spartan practice»; P. PÉDECH, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 125: «Il est plus vraisemblable qu'il a transposé dans la Cathaïe l'usage spartiate de l'exposition des enfants nouveaux-nés». D.W. AMUNDSEN, *art. cit.* (n. 24), p. 10, compared the passage in Quintus Curtius, omitting the parallel texts of Diodoros and Strabo, with that of Plutarch's *Life of Lykourgos*, but without establishing any causal connection.

⁶² Cf. F. OLLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 437-438; E.N. TIGERSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), I, p. 177-179.

⁶³ Cf. T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 59-60; P. PÉDECH, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 117-118; E. RAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 86.

⁶⁴ P. GOUKOWSKY, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 143; P. PÉDECH, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 125-126.

model. Although the contents of this lost work have given rise to much discussion among scholars, there is no doubt that Diogenes' utopia, which seems to have surpassed Plato's *Republic* in extremist rejection of the conventional social order⁶⁵, integrated at least some aspects of the Spartan ideal, and from the numerous moralizing anecdotes and sentences ascribed to Diogenes, we know that he and his followers admired Spartan *πόνος* and *ἄσκησις* as well as its downplaying of family bonds⁶⁶. So Onesikritos, in his eagerness to promote Cynic utopia, may well have introduced an element of the Spartan legend in his evocation of Sopeithes' country, either by consciously distorting the truth or by grossly misinterpreting local customs from a Greek perspective. This element may have been borrowed from Diogenes, but it cannot be ruled out that it is to be held wholly to the account of Onesikritos himself: true Cynicism differed from the Spartan ideal by its individualism, and it is uncertain whether Diogenes, with his aversion to regulation by the state, would have approved of state-controlled infanticide⁶⁷. On the other hand, the hypothesis of influence of Platonic eugenics is less attractive

⁶⁵ On the *Πολιτεία* of Diogenes, see T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 31ff.; J. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 89-97; D. DAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 111-113, 146-151 (who argues that it was a playful utopia parodying the *Republic* of Plato or a third-century Stoic forgery); T. DORANDI, *La Politeia de Diogène de Sinope et quelques remarques sur sa pensée politique*, in M.-O. GOULET-CAZÉ – R. GOULET (eds.), *Le cynisme ancien et ses prolongements. Actes du colloque international du CNRS* (Paris, 22-25 juillet 1991), Paris 1993, p. 57-68.

⁶⁶ Cf. F. OLLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 4-20; T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 52; E.N. TIGERSTEDT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), II, p. 35-41, 313-318; J. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 91-92; E. RAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 86-89; D. DAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 141-142; T. DORANDI, *art. cit.* (n. 65), p. 66-67.

⁶⁷ P. PÉDECH, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 126 tried to solve this problem as follows: «moins individualiste que Diogène, il (Onesikritos) était, dans le sillage d'Alexandre, plus conscient des nécessités politiques qui régissent l'organisation politique des sociétés. Aussi, infidèle sur ce point à la pensée cynique, pouvait-il tenir l'état spartiate pour exemplaire». But this is mere speculation and I prefer to confess my ignorance on Onesikritos' personal views, also for example when he informs us (*FGrHist* 134 F5 = Strabo XI 11.3) that Alexander abolished the barbarous Sogdianian and Baktrian practice of exposing the aged and infirm among them to be devoured by dogs (cf. T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* [n. 45], p. 51, 70). Did he praise Alexander here for his civilizing measures, and at the same time idealize systematic selective infanticide as practiced by the people of Sopeithes? This is of course possible, since the two customs may have been very different to Greek sensitivity. On the other hand, euthanasia of aged or chronically ill people, usually in a more humane form, is a stock ingredient of many utopias, including the golden era in Hes., *Op.* 113-116, the utopian Sun People of Iamboulos, on which more below, and the *Utopia* of Thomas Morus: cf. S. EL-GABALAWY, *The Ars Moriendi in More's Utopia, Mosaic* 11 (1978), p. 122-123.

because there are no other traces of Platonism in Onesikritos and because Plato's text does not contain any explicit information on the killing of non-selected infants, as is meant here⁶⁸.

An even more fantastic romanesque utopia is that of the Sun People of Iamboulos. It should probably be dated to the third or second century B.C., but has been preserved only in a summary in Diodoros' Βιβλιοθήκη (II 55-59). The utopia is presented as the account of a voyage of discovery by Iamboulos and his companion, who explored an island far away in the Southern Ocean — presumably Sri Lanka — where they met people who lived peacefully in idyllic small communities (συστήματα), enjoying abundant nature and holding women and children in common⁶⁹. To decide whether their newborn children are worth rearing they applied a fanciful method (Diod. II 58.5):

ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν συστημάτων τρέφειν ὄρνεον εὐμέγεθες ἰδίαζον τῇ φύσει, καὶ διὰ τούτου πειράζεται τὰ νήπια τῶν βρεφῶν ποίας τινὰς ἔχει τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς διαθέσεις· ἀναλαμβάνουσι γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ζῶα, καὶ τούτων πετομένων τὰ μὲν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος φορὰν ὑπομένοντα τρέφουσι, τὰ δὲ περιναῦτια γινόμενα καὶ θάμβους πληρούμενα ῥίπτουσιν, ὥς οὔτε πολυχρόνια καθεστῶτα οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς λήμασιν ἀξιόλογα.

Each group of the inhabitants also keeps a bird of great size and of a nature peculiar to itself, by means of which a test is made of the infant children to learn what their spiritual disposition is; for they place

⁶⁸ This was suggested by G. WOODCOCK, *The Greeks in India*, London 1966, p. 36.

⁶⁹ W. KROLL, art. *Iamboulos*, in *RE* IX 1 (1914), col. 681-683; T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 72-77; R. HELM, *Der antike Roman (Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft, 4)*, Göttingen 1956², p. 26-28; M. SIMON, *Hellenistische Märchenutopien*, WZBerlin 12 (1963), p. 240-243; J. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 124-129; F.F. SCHWARZ, *The Itinerary of Iambulus — Utopianism and History*, in G.-D. SONTHEIMER – K.A. PARAMESWARA (eds.), *Indology and Law: Studies in Honour of Professor J. Duncan M. Derrett (Beiträge zur Südasiensforschung, 77)*, Wiesbaden 1982, p. 18-55; W.-W. EHLERS, *Mit dem Südwestmonsun nach Ceylon. Eine Interpretation der Iambul-Exzerpte Diodors*, *WJA* N.F. 11 (1985), p. 73-84; N. HOLZBERG, *Utopias and Fantasy Travel: Euhemerus, Iambulus*, in G. SCHMELING (ed.), *The Novel in the Ancient World*, Leiden 1996, p. 626-628. Both Schwarz and Ehlers have adduced convincing arguments for the interpretation of the text as a romantically embellished travel report based on a historico-geographical reality, which points to Ceylon. But evidently this does not prevent it from being at the same time a social utopia, as Ehlers wrongly declared. We have found the same combination of travel account and utopistic idealization in Onesikritos. Therefore many catalogues and surveys of utopias, in addition to that of Ferguson, rightly give it a place: E. BLOCH, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung, 1. Kapitel 1-37*, Frankfurt a.M. 1968, p. 568-569; H. BRAUNERT, *Utopia. Antworten griechischen Denkens auf die Herausforderung durch soziale Verhältnisse*, Kiel 1969, p. 14-17; H. SWOBODA, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 35-42; M. WINTER, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 8-9.

them upon the birds, and such of them as are able to endure the flight through the air as the birds take wing they rear, but such as become nauseated and filled with consternation they cast out, as not likely either to live many years and being, besides, of no account because of their dispositions⁷⁰.

Clearly this text stands apart from all the other passages discussed so far. The test with the bird is unique, but as an endurance test it can somehow still be compared with the wine-bathing of Spartan infants reported by Plutarch and may be regarded as an illustration of the fairy-tale motif of the courage test⁷¹. Nor is the use of animals for this purpose without parallel. According to Lucanus (*Pharsalia* 9.906-908), for example, the North African tribe of the Psylli exposed their newborn children to the bite of serpents: if any perished, it was believed that a man from outside the tribe was the father⁷². As for other fantastic details told by Iamboulos it has long been recognized that they may contain a core of fact, so perhaps this also applies to the child selection⁷³. However, historical exactness is not what interested Iamboulos. Just like Onesikritos, by whom he may have been influenced⁷⁴, he wanted to elevate his readers by depicting a radical utopia in which Greek philosophical ideals had been realized. These 'primitive' people, who lived a life of natural simplicity, appear to have been highly literate, with a predominant interest in education, of which astronomy was the most important subject. The chief goal of education was the teaching of the fundamentals of religion and life and the formation of character. This focus on mental excellence

⁷⁰ Translation of C.H. OLDFATHER, *Diodorus of Sicily*, vol. II (Loeb Classical Library), Cambridge (MA) – London 1935, p. 77.

⁷¹ Cf. S. THOMPSON, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature. A Classification of Narrative Elements in Folktales, Ballads, Myths, Fables, Mediaeval Romances, Exempla, Fabliaux, Jest Books and Local Legends*, III, Bloomington–London–Copenhagen 1956, H1510ff. («Tests of power to survive»), H1561 («Tests of valor»); M. SIMON, *art. cit.* (n. 69), p. 243.

⁷² Cf. S. THOMPSON, *Motif-Index*, V, 1957, T642. I have discussed this Lucan-passages, including references to the relevant secondary literature, and have given examples of comparable ordeals to test the legitimacy of newborn children among the Celts and the Indians of the Amazon-river in my study: *The Tale-Pattern of the Hero who was Exposed at Birth in the Tragedies of Euripides. A Study of Motifs* (Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum Lovaniensis, Series A 20), Leuven 1995, p. 20-21.

⁷³ W.-W. EHLERS, *art. cit.* (n. 69), p. 82-83 interpreted Iamboulos' description as actually reflecting the social reality of Ceylonese village communities, but the bizarre child selection he classified among the «von vornherein ungläubhafte Dinge» (p. 80).

⁷⁴ This is uncertain: W. KROLL, *art. cit.* (n. 69), col. 681, accepted influence by Onesikritos, whereas W.-W. EHLERS, *art. cit.* (n. 69), p. 83 with n. 69, denied it.

is found also in the selection criteria applied to newborn children⁷⁵. Unlike all the preceding texts and in spite of the islanders' prescribed 'voluntary' euthanasia of the aged or disabled (II 57.5), the selection at birth has nothing to do this time with a striving for physical perfection through the elimination of deformed and handicapped infants. What makes the custom of the Sun People really unique are the spiritual qualities, or at least the potential thereof, as a precondition for being raised, especially underlined in the text by τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς διαθέσεις and τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς λήμασιν⁷⁶. In this way an important ethical objection against selective infanticide, repeated again and again in the modern debate on this issue, was countered, viz. that the practice would inevitably entail the elimination of infants with latent capabilities⁷⁷. Even Plato's utopia, although it aimed at rule by the 'Wise', was conspicuously concerned with corporal eugenics and lacked the sophisticated selection criteria of these islanders! Iamboulos, however, is less euphemistic than Plato as to the fate awaiting the children who do not pass the selection. The verb ῥίπτειν is sometimes used as a crude synonym of ἐκτιθέναι or ἀποτιθέναι⁷⁸. Here it clearly implies that the children are abandoned without any hope or intention that they survive.

For all the differences with the other utopian proposals of selective infanticide⁷⁹, that of Iamboulos remains essentially identical on one crucial point: although it is not stated explicitly in Diodoros' epitome, there can be no doubt that the power to decide on a newborn's life or death

⁷⁵ Cf. J. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 129: «the fantastic story of the children on the backs of the birds implies that tests of character were a fundamental feature of their thought in this realm».

⁷⁶ Many scholars do not seem to have noticed this, as appears for example from the comment by W. KROLL, *art. cit.* (n. 69), col. 683: «Das Fortwirken der alten hellenischen Anschauung, daß nur kräftige Kinder existenzberechtigt seien, kann vor zu spätem Ansatz warnen». Compare with E. SALIN, *Platon und die griechische Utopie*, München 1921, p. 235: «ein Vogel hat die Aufgabe, die Stärke und Lebenskraft der Kinder zu erproben».

⁷⁷ See for example A.G. ROPER, *Ancient Eugenics*, Oxford 1913: «Selective infanticide can only rest on a physical basis; there is no speculation in latent capacity. There was no list of unhealthy geniuses in the annals of Sparta, no St. Paul, no Mohammed, no Schumann, no De Quincey»; F. DUPRÉ, *Weltanschauung und Menschenzüchtung*, Berlin 1926, p. 286; P. SINGER – H. KUHSE, *Should the Baby Live? The Problem of Handicapped Infants*, Oxford 1985, p. 144-145.

⁷⁸ I have gathered examples of this use in my paper: *Ἐκθεις and ἀπόθεις: the Terminology for the Exposure of Children in Greek Antiquity*, AC 58 (1989), p. 190 n. 1.

⁷⁹ T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 75 underlined the difference between Onesikritos and Iamboulos in this respect: «Onesikritos is merely imitating the Spartan custom whereas Iamboulos' flying ostriches have no known parallel».

rests with the whole community and not with the parents or the father. Diodoros, and perhaps his source as well, primarily focused in this specific passage on the exotic bird and on the fantastic, high-minded selection procedure. But previously (II 58.1) it had been made clear that the σύστημα was the pivot of social organization, and that the family was unimportant: the community of wives and children was so radical that children were even exchanged in order to make them unrecognizable to their own mothers. In any event the test would not have made sense in the context of private family life, but clearly has the character of a public ritual: since each σύστημα feeds only one such bird, there is no doubt that the bird-test was supervised by the same sociological unit, which, as Diodoros informs us just after the quoted sequence, was led by the πρεσβύτερος (II 58.2). This is reminiscent of the Spartan τῶν φυλετῶν οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, who inspected the newborn children according to Plutarch. But in general the Spartan legend was of little direct influence on Iamboulos' utopia, which was indebted rather to Stoic and Cynic political and social theory and, perhaps via this intermediary, to Plato's *Republic*⁸⁰. But the loss of much of the early Cynic and early Stoic literature, including the two *Republics* of Diogenes and Zeno referred to by Plutarch, *Lyc.* 31.2, hinders our appreciation of this debt.

This loss can only partially explain why no other ancient texts recommending state-controlled child selection have been preserved. It is noteworthy indeed that we have no comparable texts later than Plutarch. But the Romans were, generally speaking, averse of utopianism⁸¹, and the Christian variants of Utopia, concrete projects for the realization of the messianic dream or *civitas Dei*⁸², naturally rejected any kind of infanticide or child selection because of the 'sanctity of life' doctrine, which considers any human being an image of God⁸³. A confrontation, however, of the preserved texts — relatively few in view of the bulk of ancient literature on ideal states, and all of them dated to the creative

⁸⁰ Cf. W. KROLL, *art. cit.* (n. 69), col. 682; T.S. BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 76, 162-163 n. 196; J. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 126-127.

⁸¹ D. DAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 223-243, convincingly shows the decline of utopianism in Platonism, Stoicism and Cynicism under Roman influence.

⁸² Cf. E. BLOCH, *op. cit.* (n. 69), p. 575ff.; J. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 146ff.; D. DAWSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 258ff.

⁸³ On the Christian principle of inherent human value in contrast with pagan ethics in antiquity cf. D.W. AMUNDSEN, *art. cit.* (n. 24), p. 3-8, 14-18, and on the practical consequences of this principle for the attitude towards infanticide cf. I. MALBIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 18-19; W.L. LANGER, *Infanticide: A Historical Survey, History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974), p. 355, 363; E. EYBEN, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 62-74.

period of Greek political philosophy — still yields some interesting results. First of all, none purports to describe historical reality. Whereas this is self-evident for the philosophically ‘lofty’ utopias of Plato and Aristotle, it is equally applicable to the passages from the travel stories of Onesikritos and Iamboulos, and from the moralizing biography by Plutarch. In the texts of the latter three authors historicity, whether real or presumed, only functions as a device to enhance the credibility or the lively presentation of the intended message⁸⁴. This may seem a one-sided interpretation, but ancient historical and biographical literature rested upon another concept of historical truthfulness than contemporary historical science, and this applies especially to the authors concerned here. The question whether or not the Spartans really practiced selective infanticide controlled by the state was only of secondary relevance or even insignificant in the eyes of Plutarch: for the exaltation of τὰ ὑπ’ ἀρετῆς ἀπειργασμένα clearly prevailed over the mere reproduction of historical fact, as he himself states in *De genio Socratis* 575a. Paradoxically, however, the effect of his Spartan model rests on the supposed historicity of this ideological construct. Likewise, Onesikritos and Iamboulos support their Cynic–Stoic views of society with uncontrollable eye-witness accounts of distant barbarian peoples.

The eugenic practice of the ideal society is justified, so to speak, by the ‘myth of the noble savage’, the presumed existence of this practice in primitive societies that were not yet affected with the stain of civilization and simply reorganized and reinforced the selection process of nature itself. This primitive institution was supposed to remain in force in the customs of the idealized tribes of aboriginals described by Onesikritos and Iamboulos, and, according to Plutarch, in historical Sparta. The combination of primitivism and utopianism found in these three texts is a typical feature of utopian tradition. In the parallel texts of Plato and Aristotle, on the contrary, child selection bears no primitive traits but is an inevitable part of the eugenic policy of an imaginary model state. Because the elite charged with the government of the ideal state should be free of physical defects, the removal of disabled newborns was a rational necessity. However, these philosophers avoid speaking of

⁸⁴ Much too often, even in recent studies, the historicity of Plutarch’s testimony on Spartan state-controlled infanticide is accepted at face value (cf. e.g. R. GARLAND, *The Greek Way of Life: From Conception to Old Age*, London 1990, p. 87–88). The caution uttered by J. FERGUSON, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 37, «If we may accept Plutarch», is regrettably rare among ancient historians.

a child's death or killing: probably for ethical reasons they prefer passive euthanasia, and Plato may even have considered the possibility of entrusting the care of these inferior guardian infants to the other classes. At least his euphemistic language suggests his reservation in this matter. Yet in spite of the elevated character of these philosophical utopias, they have in common with the supposedly historical Spartan and Indian customs that the criteria for the child selection are merely physical. This is of course in keeping with the traditional Greek connection between bodily health and mental qualities, by which even Plato was strongly influenced (cf. e.g. *Resp.* 402d), and only the selection procedure described by Iamboulos transcends purely physical eugenics by a character test.

The relation of the passages under discussion to each other remains unclear, but Plutarch's report on the Spartan *Apothetai* may go back to a source which was at the basis of all these texts. The Spartan legend dates back to a period before Plato, who borrowed from it the eugenic practices for the formation of his elite, and from the beginning the selection of newborns may have been part of this eugenic program attributed to Lykourgos, despite Xenophon's reticence. Another possibility is that Plutarch's source made use of a local Spartan tradition, connecting this information on the practice of selective infanticide with the Lykourgan society model. At any rate, once the selection of newborn infants belonged to the Spartan legend, it may by this route have entered the ideal states of Plato and Aristotle. Subsequently, it made its way, directly or indirectly, into Cynic–Stoic thought, which was promoted by Onesikritos and Iamboulos. Finally, when Plutarch integrated selective infanticide in his *Life of Lykourgos*, whom he considered to have brought into practice the utopian society concepts of Plato, Zeno and Diogenes, he may have been influenced by all these philosophical traditions. All the passages treated in this paper, then, are imbued with Greek philosophical speculation on the ideal state, and should be interpreted in this perspective. Thus it is no wonder that their ideological message was picked up by modern utopianists, who likewise suggested as a precondition for the establishment of a perfect society to nip its non-perfect members in the bud.

FIDI INTERPRETES LA TRADUCTION ORALE A ROME

«Te troppo fido interprete mi stringa.
Dura legge a tradur verbo per verbo»¹

Point n'est besoin de remonter à l'aube du monde, au mythe biblique de la Tour de Babel², pour découvrir que les hommes sont, depuis des temps immémoriaux, confrontés à la diversité des langues et à la nécessité de traduire³. Punition divine infligée aux hommes pour leur insolence selon la Bible, résultat de l'absence de concertation entre les groupes ethniques lors de la naissance du langage humain pour Diodore de Sicile⁴, la multiplicité et la confusion des parlers à travers le monde ont mis les hommes dans un profond malaise, puisqu'elles les placent constamment en face de l'obligation de traduire, opération qui revêt en même temps un caractère impossible. Bref, cette situation les oblige à concilier nécessaire et impossible. Le malaise de St Jérôme, qui se fait jour non seulement dans le songe⁵, mais encore dans la lettre 57, tout entière consacrée à la traduction⁶, est le reflet de l'embarras qu'éprouve

¹ «Ne sois pas un interprète trop fidèle, c'est une dure loi de traduire mot à mot». Ces paroles sont adressées par Pétrarque à Boccace lorsqu'il lui envoie sa traduction latine de *Griselidis* (sur Pétrarque traducteur, cf. P. POIRIER, *Pétrarque vu par lui-même* [Collection *Lebègue*, 24], Bruxelles 1942, p. 7-9).

Ce travail a été réalisé à la faveur d'un séjour d'études à la Fondation Hardt à Vandœuvres-Genève (septembre-octobre 1995).

² *Genèse* 11.1-9. Sur l'interprétation du mythe de la Tour de Babel, J. DERRIDA, *Des Tours de Babel*, dans A. CAZENAVE – J.-F. LYOTARD (éd.), *L'art des confins. Mélanges offerts à M. de Gandillac*, Paris 1985, p. 209-237.

³ Sur l'histoire de la traduction, E. NIDA, *Toward a Science of Translating*, Leiden 1964, p. 10-27, et M. BALLARD, *De Cicéron à Benjamin. Traducteurs, traductions, réflexions*, Lille 1992, p. 21-55. E. CARY, *La traduction dans le monde moderne*, Genève 1956, p. 132, signale l'existence d'interprètes daces dont font mention les inscriptions pannoniennes du deuxième siècle av. J.-C.

⁴ Diodore de Sicile I 8.1-2 et 3-4. Sur les théories relatives à l'apparition de la diversité des langues, cf. A. BORST, *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker* I, Stuttgart 1957, p. 89-100 et 133-158.

⁵ *Lettres* 22.30. Cf. L.A. RAPISARDA, *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus* (*Miscellanea di studi di letteratura christiana antica*, 4), Catania 1953.

⁶ Adressée au sénateur Pammachius et intitulée *De optimo genere interpretandi*. Cf. G.J.M. BARTELINK, *Hieronymus. Liber de optimo genere interpretandi* (*Epistula* 57), Leiden 1980.

nécessairement tout traducteur, quels que soient le contexte dans lequel il travaille et la nature du texte qu'il traduit.

On connaît finalement peu de chose sur l'origine de la traduction⁷. On ignore dans quelles conditions elle s'est développée et quelles formes elle a revêtues au départ. Il est évident que la pratique orale de la traduction, que l'on trouve déjà dans les civilisations de la Mésopotamie⁸ et en Égypte⁹, a précédé son équivalent écrit, forme pour laquelle les Romains ont édicté les premiers des règles *a posteriori*. À l'origine, c'est une pratique tout empirique qui a prévalu, car, en matière de traduction, les règles et les préceptes ne peuvent guère être formulés que par des praticiens eux-mêmes, leur travail une fois réalisé. C'est alors, mais alors seulement, qu'ils sont à même d'en mesurer les limites et les lacunes et de prendre conscience du caractère dramatiquement impossible de leur tâche¹⁰. Tel est le sentiment éprouvé par Cicéron et St Jérôme, même s'il arrive quelquefois à ce dernier d'anticiper des critiques que sa façon de traduire tel ou tel vocable grec ou hébreu pourrait soulever. Tel est encore Leonardo Bruni, à qui une longue pratique de la traduction fit écrire un *De interpretatione recta* (1421-1427)¹¹. Tel est aussi Pierre-Daniel Huet qui rédige lui aussi un *De optimo genere interpretandi* (1668) et un *De claris interpretibus* (1683).

Que le monde ancien fût linguistiquement bigarré, surtout dans la partie orientale, plusieurs témoignages l'indiquent avec précision¹². Une

⁷ W. WILSS, *Übersetzungswissenschaft. Probleme und Methoden*, Stuttgart 1977, p. 14.

⁸ E. NIDA, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 11.

⁹ Dans les inscriptions d'Éléphantine (IV^e et V^e dynasties), les princes de cette ville sont appelés «chefs-traducteurs» (cf. A. HERMANN, *Dolmetschen im Altertum*, dans *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dolmetschens* [Schriften des Auslands- und Dolmetscherinstituts der Univ. Mainz in Gernersheim, 1], 1956, p. 25-33). Sur l'Égypte gréco-romaine, cf. W. PEREMANS, *Les ἐρμηνεύς dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, dans *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten. Akten des int. Symposiums 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier (Aegyptiaca Treverensia, 2)*, Mainz 1983, p. 11-17. Lors de la bataille de Raphia, Ptolémée IV Philopator dut adresser ses encouragements à la phalange égyptienne par le truchement d'un interprète (Polybius V 83.7).

¹⁰ C'est dans le traité de Joachim Du Bellay intitulé *Deffense et illustration de la langue francoyse* (1549) que l'on trouve l'exposé le plus nourri qui soit sur les problèmes de la traduction (cf. l'édition de H. Chamard, Paris 1904 [1948]). Sur le débat relatif aux méthodes de traduction, cf. J. MAROUZEAU, *Introduction au latin*, Paris 1941, p. 150-152.

¹¹ *De interpretatione recta*: L. BRUNI, *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. H. Baron, Berlin 1928, p. 81-96.

¹² Plusieurs d'entre eux sont réunis dans mon étude intitulée *La diversité linguistique dans l'antiquité classique*, dans L. ISEBAERT (éd.), *Miscellanea linguistica greco-latina* (Collection d'Études Classiques, 7), Namur 1993, p. 219-237.

anecdote assez curieuse rapportée par Lucien est éclairante à cet égard¹³. Un prince de la région du Pont, zone caractérisée par une multitude d'idiomes différents¹⁴, avait assisté à la cour de Néron à un spectacle de pantomime. Au moment de prendre congé, l'empereur lui demande quel présent lui ferait le plus plaisir. Et le prince de répondre qu'il serait bien aise s'il consentait à lui offrir le danseur qui venait de se produire devant eux. Grâce à sa capacité de faire comprendre par des gestes les propos échangés dans diverses langues, il pourrait épargner au prince l'utilisation d'interprètes pour communiquer avec les peuples voisins. On rappellera encore la capacité que la tradition attribue à Mithridate VI Eupator de maîtriser vingt-deux langues¹⁵, voire même davantage. Si l'on en croit Plutarque¹⁶, la reine Cléopâtre pouvait se prévaloir d'une compétence semblable, puisqu'elle était elle aussi capable de converser avec tous les peuples soumis à son autorité sans l'aide d'interprètes. Même au quatrième siècle, lorsqu'il imagine une cité nouvelle, la Cité de Dieu, St Augustin voit, parmi les caractéristiques de la Ville Céleste, la disparition de la *diuersitas linguarum* qui sépare les hommes¹⁷, comme le soulignait déjà Pline l'Ancien¹⁸.

*
* *

La Grèce et Rome ont connu la traduction orale¹⁹. Le bilinguisme propre au monde gréco-romain a conduit à la nécessité de traduire d'une

¹³ *De saltatione* 64.

¹⁴ Trois cents langues différentes selon Pline l'Ancien (*HN* VI 5.15), qui cite Timothée, chiffre qui correspond aux trois cents tribus, parlant chacune sa langue ou dialecte, qui fréquentaient le marché de la seule ville de Dioscurias. Cf. P. PEETERS, *Linguistique caucasienne* [c.r. de l'ouvrage de A. DIRR, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen...*, Leipzig 1928], *Le Muséon* 42 (1929), p. 100.

¹⁵ Plinius Maior, *HN* XXV 3.6.

¹⁶ *Antoine* 27.4-5.

¹⁷ *XIX* 7.

¹⁸ VII 1.7: (...) *tot gentium sermones, tot linguae, tanta loquendi uarietas, ut externus alieno paene non sit hominis uice.*

¹⁹ Sur les interprètes et le problème de la communication avec des populations étrangères: H.S. GEHMAN, *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients. A Study Based on Greek and Latin Sources*, diss. Philadelphia, Lancaster 1914 [*non uidi-mus*]; W.J. SNELLMAN, *De interpretibus Romanorum deque linguae Latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio*, diss., 2 vol., Leipzig 1919-1914 [*sic*]. Il faut compléter par A. HERMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 9), et A. HERMANN – W. VON SODEN, *art. Dolmetscher*, dans *RLAC* IV (1957), col. 24-49. On ajoutera encore G. ACHARD, *La communication à Rome*, Paris 1991 [1994], p. 157-163 et 253-259; F. BORNMANN, *Bilinguismo e interpreti nella*

langue vers l'autre, que ce soit dans le monde grec ou à Rome même, lorsque des personnalités grecques y étaient présentes, afin de permettre les contacts entre les deux *partes*. Mais il ne faut pas perdre de vue que tout le pourtour méditerranéen est caractérisé par une diversité linguistique telle que des interprètes sont indispensables aussi pour communiquer avec les populations habitant ces régions périphériques ou lointaines. L'exemple le plus éclairant est certainement celui des armées d'Alexandre, qui, tout au long de la prodigieuse expédition qui conduisit le Macédonien aux confins de l'hellénisme, aux portes de l'Inde, rencontrèrent de nombreuses populations alloglottes, avec lesquelles il était impératif, pour une raison ou une autre, d'entrer en contact²⁰. Les difficultés furent le plus souvent résolues au cas par cas, sans que l'on puisse parler de politique linguistique, qui eût été pensée avant le départ de Grèce. Elle eût du reste été impossible, puisqu'Alexandre s'avancait dans des *terrae incognitae*. Pour éviter tout embarras causé par la diversité des langues, le Macédonien voulut instruire en langue grecque trente mille enfants, issus des diverses régions conquises, qui, une fois adultes, devraient occuper les postes les plus élevés dans l'immense empire qu'il avait tenté d'unifier sous son égide²¹. *Mutatis mutandis*, l'idée du Macédonien peut être rapprochée de celle de Ramsès II qui, vers 1250 av. J.-C., fit venir à sa cour de jeunes princes et nobles d'Asie, afin qu'ils fussent instruits en langue égyptienne en Égypte même.

On imagine sans difficulté ce que l'esprit pratique, voire pragmatique, des Romains peut donner en matière de traduction. Mais, de ce que fut la pratique *orale* de la traduction, nous n'avons qu'une idée partielle, limitée aux renseignements que les auteurs ont laissés incidemment sur ce sujet. *Verba uolant!* Toutefois, les nombreux témoignages relatifs à cet usage donnent à penser qu'il était courant et qu'il se déroulait, ainsi que nous allons le voir, dans différents contextes et de multiples circonstances. Si les Romains empruntent la pratique de la traduction à la Grèce, qui l'a elle-même héritée d'autres civilisations, peut-être de

diplomazia dell'impero romano, dans M. VACCHINA (éd.), *Langues et peuples. Actes du colloque «Langues et peuples»*, s.l., s.d. [1988], p. 83-95; C. MONTELLA, *Il fidus interpres nella prassi orale della traduzione*, *AION (ling)* 4 (1982), p. 197-211; et V. ROTOLO, *La comunicazione linguistica fra alloglotti nell'antichità classica*, dans *Studi classici in onore di Q. Cataudella* I, Catania 1972, p. 395-414.

²⁰ P.R. FRANKE, *Dolmetschen in hellenistischer Zeit*, dans J. WERNER *e.a.* (éd.), *Zum Umgang mit fremden Sprachen in der griechisch-römischen Antike (Palingenesia, 36)*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 85-96.

²¹ Plutarchus, *Alexandre* 47.6.

l'Égypte, ils donnent à cet usage une orientation propre en institutionnalisant la fonction de l'*interpretes*²² et en lui attribuant un statut reconnu par les instances administratives. La création d'un service d'interprètes officiels, attachés à titre permanent à la Curie, remonte sans doute aux premières relations avec les cités grecques, d'abord celles de Campanie et du Sud de l'Italie, qui eurent lieu dès le quatrième siècle. À Rome, l'interprète devient un fonctionnaire de l'État, directement rétribué par le trésor public, et son statut dans l'armée le distingue aussi des autres soldats. Si l'ἑρμηνεύς grec ne se signale guère parmi ses compagnons d'armes que par la confiance que ses supérieurs peuvent mettre en lui, l'*interpretes* romain jouit d'une position dans l'armée romaine, très hiérarchisée, dont l'importance ne doit pas être sous-estimée.

À l'origine, l'ἑρμηνεύς grec appartient au monde religieux²³, où il est, primitivement, l'interprète des oracles et des songes²⁴. Ce n'est que tardivement qu'il désignera des interprètes divers. En revanche, l'*interpretes* romain n'assume guère ce rôle qu'à l'époque des Rois, où l'on institue un collège de dix hommes chargés de l'interprétation des *libri sibyllini*²⁵, après la traduction de ces écrits sacrés du grec en latin à l'époque de Tarquin²⁶. Sa mission majeure, comme l'indique l'étymologie²⁷, relève du monde des échanges de biens et des transactions com-

²² Th. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Leipzig 1887 [1952], p. 368 et n. 2 (les *interpretes* sont des fonctionnaires de l'État au même titre que les *tibicines*, les *haruspices*, les *medici* ou les *architecti*...).

²³ Pindarus, *Ol.* II 93. Voir aussi Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 616, où ἑρμηνεύς signifie «interprète-exégète», mais dans le sens «qui décrypte un langage mystérieux, qui peut être assimilé à une langue étrangère». Sur l'évolution du sens de ἑρμηνεύς (et -εἶα, -εῖω), cf. M. LEJEUNE, *La curiosité linguistique dans l'antiquité classique*, *Conférences de l'Institut de linguistique de l'Université de Paris*, 1940-1948 [1949], p. 58.

²⁴ P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* II, Paris 1970, p. 373.

²⁵ Livius X 8.2: *carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi huius interpretes*. Cicero, *De diuinatione* I 2 (4); II 54 (110); *De natura deorum* III 2 (5); Gellius IV 1.1. — L'emploi de *interpretes* (et -tatio, -ari) dans le sens de «traducteur d'une langue vers l'autre» est un sens dérivé. Dans cette acception, il désigne d'abord la traduction orale (cf. *TLL* VII/1, col. 2252, B, 1), puis seulement la traduction écrite (cf. *TLL* *ibid.*, B, 2). Cicéron emploie *interpretatio* à propos de son propre travail, puis, chez les chrétiens, le terme désigne les traductions de la Bible, anciennes (la Septante) ou récentes (traductions en latin). Sur l'évolution historique du terme *interpretatio*: M. FUHRMANN, *Interpretatio. Notizen zur Wortgeschichte*, dans *Symptica Fr. Wieacker*, Göttingen 1970, p. 80-110 (qui étudie surtout les acceptions juridiques du terme).

²⁶ Varro, *apud* Dionysius, *AR* IV 62.4.

²⁷ A. ERNOUT – A. MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, Paris 1967⁴, p. 320. Il faut sans doute rattacher *interpretes* à *pretium* (cf. M. LEJEUNE, *art. cit.* [n. 23], p. 58).

merciales et, accessoirement, du domaine juridique²⁸. Son rôle est celui d'un intermédiaire²⁹, qui doit aussi veiller — mais pas uniquement —, lorsque les parties ne parlent pas la même langue, au bon déroulement des opérations grâce à la compréhension mutuelle des propos échangés. Telle était sans doute la mission d'Apollonios, ἑρμηνεύς des Trogydtes, aux confins de l'Égypte et du golfe Arabique, dont un reçu bancaire a conservé le souvenir³⁰. À l'époque impériale, d'importantes transactions s'opéraient dans la seule ville de Dioscurias, l'actuelle Suchum, perdue sur les bords de la mer Noire, avec une équipe de cent trente interprètes, à en croire Pline l'Ancien³¹, chiffre qui permet de mesurer l'importance de la bigarrure linguistique de cette contrée — on y parlait pas moins de trois cents langues — et le prix attaché par l'administration civile romaine aux transactions commerciales qui s'y déroulaient.

Après la sphère commerciale, qui donna sans doute naissance à la fonction de l'*interpres* à Rome³², l'interprète joue un rôle non moins important dans le domaine diplomatique et politique, que ce soit à Rome ou dans les provinces, où il accompagne les magistrats³³. Lorsque, lors d'une mission sénatoriale en Grèce, avant Pydna ou la prise de Corinthe, peut-être vers 200, des *legati* partirent pour la Grèce, un interprète, un affranchi, probablement d'origine grecque, nommé Cn. Publicius Menander, accompagna les *legati*. À titre tout à fait exceptionnel, il put conserver sa *ciuitas*, bien qu'il ne résidât plus à Rome. À la Curie, l'interprète devient une véritable institution dès l'époque de Caton. Comme le rappelle Cicéron, non sans ironie³⁴, il y a toujours bien

²⁸ Varro, *L.L.* V 22; *Duodecim Tabularum interpretes*.

²⁹ Plautus, *Miles* 910 et 952; Cicero, *Ad fam.* X 17.3; Plinius Minor, *Panegyrique* 19.4; Petronius, *Satiricon* 107.15; *Cod. Theod.* 3.7.1 pr. D'autre part, un passage de Salluste (*BJ* 109.4) met bien en lumière la distinction entre *interpres* et *internuntius* («médiateur» [cf. *TLL*, VII/1, col. 2234-2235]).

³⁰ *UPZ* II 227.

³¹ VI 5.15 (cf. n. 14). Strabon (XI 2.16) s'en tenait au chiffre déjà respectable de soixante-dix et comptait vingt-six dialectes dans la seule Albanie.

³² Sur l'importance de l'*interpres* dans les relations commerciales entre peuples de langues différentes, attestées dès l'épopée, surtout pour les Phéniciens, cf. Caesar, *BG* IV 20.4 et Tacitus, *Ann.* II 60. Voir aussi Sallustius, *BJ* 18, qui souligne que le commerce avec l'Espagne est impossible à cause de la différence de langues.

³³ On connaît, p. ex., un interprète d'un procurateur romain de Syrie (cf. F. CUMONT, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, Bruxelles 1937, p. 32).

³⁴ *De finibus* V 29 (89). Il faut toutefois replacer cette phrase dans son contexte. Cicéron fait une comparaison: de même qu'il y a toujours quelqu'un qui demande un interprète au Sénat, de même nous devons écouter les philosophes stoïciens avec l'aide d'un

quelqu'un au Sénat qui requiert un interprète. Même si les sénateurs comprenaient parfaitement le grec, comme la plupart des membres de la classe dirigeante de Rome, les plus nationalistes d'entre eux, comme Caton, leur chef de file, qui ne parle grec qu'à contrecœur, malgré la connaissance qu'il possède de cette langue depuis l'enfance³⁵, tiennent beaucoup à ce que la langue officielle de la Curie soit le latin. Ce souci est clairement illustré par la présence d'un interprète lors de l'ambassade des trois philosophes grecs de 155³⁶. Ce rôle, qui semble revêtir un caractère prestigieux, à en juger d'après l'empressement mis à solliciter cette charge, fut réclamé avec insistance par le sénateur C. Acilius³⁷, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, dit Plutarque, que l'on doit sans doute identifier avec l'auteur d'une histoire de Rome en grec, traduite en latin par Claudius Quadrigarius³⁸. L'usage du grec fut toutefois admis dans la Curie dès l'époque de Sylla³⁹, peut-être pour des raisons purement pratiques. Ce fut probablement Apollonios Molon de Rhodes qui, en 87 ou 81, s'exprima le premier en grec dans la Curie sans qu'il y eût d'interprète⁴⁰. Il était venu à Rome, sous la dictature de Sylla, pour régler une affaire de récompenses dues aux Rhodiens. Il semble toutefois que la règle de la présence d'un interprète soit restée valable pour les Carthaginois et les

interprète. *Interpres* a donc ici aussi le sens d'«exégète» (qui explique une terminologie difficile). Cicéron veut peut-être dire que certains propos tenus au Sénat sont obscurs et qu'ils demandent une *interprétation*, mais pas nécessairement une *traduction* d'une langue vers l'autre. Sur *interpretari* chez Cicéron: *Academica* I 2 (8); *De officiis* II 17 (60); *De legibus* II 7 (17); *De finibus* III 4 (15); *De optimo genere oratorum* 14 et C. CASSIUS, *apud* Cicero, *Ad fam.* XV 19.2 (*mali uerborum interpretes*).

³⁵ Quoi qu'en dise Cicéron (*Academica* II 2 [5]), Caton a bien appris le grec tôt dans sa vie, en conformité avec le système d'éducation romain, qui veut que l'on apprenne le grec avant le latin. L'étude des lettres est venue plus tard. Comme le pense L. ALFONSI (*Catone il Censore e l'umanesimo romano*, PP 9, 1954, p. 161-176), on a certainement exagéré l'anti-hellénisme de Caton. Son attitude nationaliste doit être uniquement placée sur le plan éthique et politique, sans compter que ses vues ont certainement évolué, comme le dit F. DELLA CORTE (*Catone Censore. La vita e la fortuna*, Firenze 1969², p. 89-95).

³⁶ Plutarchus, *Caton l'Ancien* 22 et Gellius VI 14.9. Cf. A.D. LEEMAN, *Orationis ratio. The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators Historians and Philosophers*, Amsterdam 1963, p. 21.

³⁷ Macrobius, *Sat.* I 5.16, passage où il ne faut toutefois pas lire *Caelius* (cf. J. KAIMIO, *The Romans and the Greek Language* [Comm. Hum. Litt., 64], Helsinki 1979, p. 104 et n. 44).

³⁸ Livius XXV 39.12 et XXXV 14.5 (Cf. J. KAIMIO, *The Romans* [n. 37], p. 230).

³⁹ Sur l'emploi d'interprètes au Sénat avant Sylla, cf. Th. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III/2, Leipzig 1888 [1952], p. 960 et n. 3.

⁴⁰ Valerius Maximus II 2.3 (cf. Cic., *Brutus* 90 [312]). De toute façon, Apollonios ignorait le latin (Plutarchus, *Cicéron* 4.6).

Espagnols⁴¹, comme s'il s'agissait de faire sentir à ces deux peuples, plus qu'aux autres, qu'ils avaient à présent à se rendre, après la victoire sur Carthage et Numance, à la volonté des Romains, à moins que ce ne soit simplement parce qu'ils connaissaient mal le grec. Plus tard, des empereurs puristes, comme Tibère, qui souhaitait en revenir aux usages de la République, ceux des *prisci magistratus*⁴², imposeront au Sénat l'usage du latin, même pour répondre à des questions posées en grec⁴³. Toutefois, sous la République, la règle énoncée par Valère Maxime, qui commandait aux magistrats de ne jamais répondre qu'en latin aux Grecs, était loin d'être respectée. La proclamation de Flamininus aux jeux isthmiques de 196 fut peut-être faite en grec⁴⁴, bien que les auteurs relatant cet événement ne précisent pas la langue utilisée à cette occasion. En 168, Paul-Émile s'adresse en grec à Persée, tandis que, l'année suivante, il fit un discours en latin devant les Grecs, avec le préteur Cn. Octavius pour interprète⁴⁵. Plus tard, peu après Actium, Octavien fit un discours ἐλλη-νιστί, à Alexandrie, pour être compris de tous, précise Dion Cassius⁴⁶.

*

* *

⁴¹ Cicero, *De diuinatione* II 64 (131): *tamquam si Poeni aut Hispani in senatu nostro loqueretur sine interprete*.

⁴² Valerius Maximus II 2.2 (cf. M. DUBUISSON, *Y a-t-il une politique linguistique romaine?*, *Ktéma* 7, 1982, p. 187-210).

⁴³ Suetonius, *Tibère* 71 et Cassius Dio LVII 15.2-3 (cf. M. DUBUISSON, *Purisme et politique: Suétone, Tibère et le grec au Sénat*, dans *Mélanges J. Veremans* [Collection Latomus, 193], Bruxelles 1986, p. 109-117).

⁴⁴ Plutarchus, *Flamininus* 10 et *Philopœmen* 15. Voir aussi Polybius XVIII 46. 5; Livius XXXIII 32 et Appianus, *Mac.* 9.4. — Les proclamations de Corinthe et d'Argos furent faites en grec, non par Flamininus lui-même ou par un interprète, mais par le biais de *hérauts* des *Isthmia* et des *Néméa*. Pendant les entretiens de Locride, le grec dut être utilisé au moins pour certaines réparties, et il n'est donc pas certain qu'il y ait eu un interprète (cf. J.-L. FERRARY, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme. Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique* [BEFAR, 271], Paris-Rome 1988, p. 559 et n. 42).

⁴⁵ Polybius XXIX 20.1 et Livius XLV 8.1-6. — On remarquera, avec J.-L. FERRARY, *loc. cit.* (n. 44), que le choix d'un magistrat romain pour s'adresser aux vaincus dans leur propre langue peut être considéré comme un geste de bienveillance et de courtoisie. En effet, bien que Valère Maxime (II 2.2) fasse référence à une règle ancienne qui voulait que le magistrat romain se servît toujours du latin, même lorsqu'il s'adressait à des populations de langue grecque (cf. M. DUBUISSON, *art. cit.* [n. 42], p. 193-210 [qui défend la valeur du texte] et J. KAIMIO, *op. cit.* [n. 37], p. 94-96 [qui la conteste]), la pratique habituelle, loin d'être une norme fixée par un texte, laissait le choix de la langue à l'appréciation du magistrat. L'usage du grec apparaissait comme un signe de conciliation et de bienveillance.

⁴⁶ Cassius Dio LI 16.4.

Il va sans dire que le recours à des interprètes lors d'expéditions militaires en terre étrangère était une nécessité absolue. Alors que, dans l'armée grecque, le plus souvent, un soldat s'improvise interprète au gré des circonstances et au hasard des compétences détenues par les hommes présents dans les rangs grecs, l'armée romaine, plus pratique, possède des interprètes «full-time», même si d'autres tâches leur sont certainement confiées en plus de leur fonction principale. Toutefois, les Romains — et, avant eux, les Grecs — connaissant une langue étrangère étant l'exception⁴⁷, il n'est pas rare que des prisonniers de guerre étrangers, qui avaient acquis une connaissance du latin à la faveur de leur captivité à Rome, soient utilisés comme interprètes. Cette pratique est évidemment dangereuse, puisqu'elle comporte le risque d'une trahison par déformation des propos traduits. C'est ce qui explique que, lorsque les enjeux sont importants, il y ait un interprète de chaque côté, comme lors de l'entrevue entre Scipion et Hannibal, peu avant la bataille de Zama⁴⁸, ou encore que l'on fasse appel à une personne au-dessus de tout soupçon, comme dans les trois cas évoqués ci-après.

Il est aisé de comprendre que la qualité primordiale d'un interprète est la confiance, la *fides*, que le commanditaire de la traduction peut mettre en lui. Un seul mot, oublié ou mal rendu, peut parfois changer le cours des événements. Aussi est-il indispensable que s'installe une réelle connivence entre l'*interpres* et son supérieur. Ainsi, lorsque César doit s'entretenir avec le chef gaulois Diviciacus, il écarte les *cottidiani interpretes*, qui lui servaient dans les relations de tous les jours, pour appeler à ses côtés C. Valérius Troucillus⁴⁹, grand personnage de la Gaule romaine, en qui il avait mis toute sa confiance, comme il le précise lui-même⁵⁰. L'entrevue secrète entre Sylla et Bocchus, roi de Maurétanie, lors de la guerre contre Jugurtha⁵¹, qui voulaient comploter contre ce dernier, eut lieu aussi en présence d'interprètes sûrs et d'un médiateur, Dabar, un homme loyal, agréé de part et d'autre. Salluste souligne du

⁴⁷ Voir par exemple la notice de Quintilien XI 2.50 (Thémistocle, qui, en moins d'un an, parvint à parler parfaitement la langue perse; Mithridate, qui possédait vingt-deux langues; P. Licinius Crassus Dives, qui, gouvernant l'Asie, se familiarisa avec cinq parlers grecs différents, au point de pouvoir rendre la justice dans celui dans lequel la plainte avait été déposée).

⁴⁸ Livius XXX 30.1.

⁴⁹ Certains éditeurs lisent *Procillum* en commettant une confusion avec le personnage cité en I 47. La restitution de Holder, que je suis, est appuyée par trois attestations épigraphiques (*CIL* III 5037, V 7269 et V 7287).

⁵⁰ *BG* I 19.3.

⁵¹ Sallustius, *BJ* 109.

reste la confiance que l'on pouvait accorder à cet homme⁵², qualifié de *sanctus uir*, alors qu'il met en lumière, au chapitre précédent, la perfidie, la *fides Punica*, de Bocchus⁵³. De même, Néron fait traduire en latin les propos du roi arménien Tiridates par un prétorien⁵⁴. Et on retrouve encore cette confiance dans les relations privées. L'*interpre*s de Cicéron, Valérius, est aussi son *amicus*⁵⁵.

L'interprète n'est pas seulement nécessaire à Rome, à la Curie, ou aux côtés des généraux en campagne. Sa présence est requise également pour accompagner des magistrats devant occuper des postes dans les provinces ou encore pour seconder des *legati* lors de missions sénatoriales, comme celle qui eut lieu avant Pydna ou la prise de Corinthe, avec l'affranchi Cn. Publicius Menander pour interprète⁵⁶. Dans ce cas, il n'est pas rare de recourir aux services de prisonniers de guerre qui ont appris le latin à la faveur de leur séjour en captivité dans les armées romaines. Parfois, la situation inverse peut se présenter. Un Romain fait prisonnier par un roi barbare peut lui servir d'interprète. Mais, il semble que les monarques étrangers, craignant une trahison, aient eu peu recours à ce procédé. Ils préféraient sans doute que l'un des leurs apprenne le grec ou le latin. En effet, il arrive qu'un interprète se rende complice de son supérieur pour tendre un piège à l'ennemi. C'est de ce moyen qu'usa le général parthe Suréna pour tromper Crassus lors du siège de Carrhes⁵⁷. De la même façon, lors d'un procès, l'interprète peut

⁵² Cf. la note d'A. Ernout (CUF, Paris 1941, p. 262, n. 1).

⁵³ Sallustius, *BJ* 108.

⁵⁴ Suetonius, *Néron* 13.3.

⁵⁵ *Ad fam.* XIII 54.

⁵⁶ La date de cette mission n'est pas connue avec exactitude (J. Cousin [éd. du *Pro Balbo*, CUF, Paris 1962, p. 357 n. 2] la situe avant la prise de Corinthe). Cicéron (*Pro Balbo* 11 [28]) emploie l'expression *apud maiores*, qui renvoie à une époque éloignée, sinon avant les guerres puniques, selon F. Münzer (art. *Cn. Publicius Menander* [n° 24], *RE* XXIII 2 [1959], col. 1902), car, dans le même plaidoyer, l'expression est utilisée à propos de la *lex Furia Testamentaria*, qui date de 200. On sait que des *legati* ont été envoyés en Grèce dès la première guerre d'Illyrie (Polybius II 12.4-5), afin d'expliquer aux Aetoliens les motifs de cette guerre et les conditions de paix. On ne sait quelle langue fut utilisée à ce moment. Il n'est pas impossible que l'on ait employé directement le grec, car Laevinus, qui était à la tête de l'ambassade, possédait une assez bonne connaissance du grec, à en juger d'après sa carrière (reconstituée d'après Tite-Live), qui le mit longtemps en contact avec des populations de langue hellénique (cf. R.G. HOPITAL, *Le traité romano-aetolien de 212 avant J.-C.*, *RD* 42, 1964, p. 29-30). De toute façon, le cas de Cn. Publius Menander montre que la création d'un service d'interprètes auprès de la Curie remonte à une date ancienne.

⁵⁷ Plutarchus, *Crassus* 28, où le terme δῖγλωσσος («qui connaît une langue barbare et le grec et/ou le latin») peut être entendu dans le sens de «interprète» (cf. J. CARCOPINO,

être de mèche avec l'une des parties pour l'aider à gagner la cause, ainsi que le prouve un papyrus appartenant aux archives de Zénon⁵⁸. Cicéron souligne aussi, avec ironie, que l'interprète de Verrès en Sicile, A. Valentius, une canaille de la pire espèce, ne lui servait pas seulement comme traducteur du grec, mais qu'il prenait part aussi à ses méfaits⁵⁹.

La pratique de la traduction orale est éclairante sur la nature et l'extension du bilinguisme à Rome. L'étude de la traduction littéraire pourrait laisser croire que le bilinguisme se limite aux relations entre le grec et le latin. La traduction en grec ou en latin d'ouvrages rédigés en langues étrangères est en effet exceptionnelle. On ne peut guère citer que la traduction en grec de l'Ancien Testament, connue sous le nom de «Traduction des Septante» et réalisée pour des raisons pratiques⁶⁰, ou encore, pour le monde romain, la version latine des quarante-huit livres sur l'agriculture du Carthaginois Magon, traduits eux aussi pour des raisons utilitaires, en vertu d'un sénatus-consulte rendu peu après la prise de Carthage⁶¹. En revanche, la présence d'interprètes pour d'autres langues que le grec et le latin est la preuve que le bilinguisme dans le monde gréco-romain ne se cantonne pas à des traductions du grec en latin ou inversement. S'il est clair que le grec, «Weltsprache» du bassin méditerranéen, l'emporte, il s'étend à tous les parlers des peuples avec lesquels les Romains sont amenés à entrer en contact pour des raisons commerciales, militaires, diplomatiques ou privées: étrusque⁶², gaulois⁶³, punique⁶⁴, égyptien⁶⁵ et autres langues barbares⁶⁶.

Jules César, Paris 1968⁵, p. 298). — Suréna est le nom d'une famille et non le nom personnel du général, qui est inconnu (cf. R. FLACELIÈRE — E. CHAMBRY, *Plutarque. Vies* [CUF], t. VII, Paris 1972, p. 233 n. 1).

⁵⁸ *P. Ryl. Zen.* 10 (cf. Cl. PRÉAUX, *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon*, Bruxelles 1947, p. 70).

⁵⁹ Cicero, *In Verrem* II 337 (84). A.D. LEEMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 104-105.

⁶⁰ Pour un aperçu des problèmes que pose la traduction de la Bible en grec, cf. D. BARTHÉLEMY, *Pourquoi la Torah a-t-elle été traduite en grec?*, dans *On Language, Culture and Religion. In Honor of E.A. Nida*, Den Haag 1974, p. 23-41.

⁶¹ J. HEURGON, *L'agronome carthaginois Magon et ses traducteurs en grec et en latin*, CRAI 1976, p. 441-456.

⁶² Cf. liste en annexe n° 2. Sur la diffusion du latin en Étrurie et, plus généralement, dans toute la péninsule italique, W.V. HARRIS, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford 1971, p. 169-175.

⁶³ Cf. liste en annexe n°s 1, 17 et 18.

⁶⁴ Cf. liste en annexe n°s 5, 6, 8 et 14.

⁶⁵ Cf. liste en annexe n° 20.

⁶⁶ Cf. liste en annexe n°s 7 (langue d'Afrique), 15 (langue des Parthes), 19 (dialectes d'Asie Mineure), 21 (arménien) et 22 (parlers des bords de la mer Noire).

Initialement requise par les transactions mercantiles, puis institutionnalisée, d'abord par le Sénat, sans doute après 155, qui créa un précédent, puis par l'armée, la fonction d'interprète à Rome ne donne pas lieu à des considérations théoriques ou méthodologiques. La terminologie utilisée par les auteurs latins à propos des usages traductifs permet toutefois de faire une distinction entre la traduction simultanée, avec un ou plusieurs interprètes (*per interpretem* ou *-es*⁶⁷) ou un interprète pour chaque partie (*singulis interpretibus*) et la traduction élaborée préalablement à la lecture, comme par exemple dans le cas de lettres ou de discours (*litterae interpretatae* ou *oratione interpretata*). Pour ces opérations, c'est le verbe *interpretari* qui est le plus usité⁶⁸, alors que (*con*)uertere ou *transfere* sont plutôt réservés à la traduction littéraire, qu'elle soit fidèle ou «artistique», pour reprendre la formule que S. Mariotti applique à la production de Livius Andronicus⁶⁹.

*

* *

Qu'il s'agisse du commerce, des relations diplomatiques, des campagnes militaires ou même des relations entre les particuliers⁷⁰, le rôle de l'interprète est essentiel dans la société romaine. Lorsque les traducteurs d'œuvres

⁶⁷ Sur le processus linguistique propre à la traduction, cf. J. ALBRECHT, *Linguistik und Übersetzung*, Tübingen 1973, p. 18-20.

⁶⁸ Sur la terminologie de la traduction, cf. H.-E. RICHTER, *Übersetzen und Übersetzungen in der römischen Literatur*, diss., Erlangen 1938, p. 11-13, 49, 51, 65 et 67; A. REIFF, *Interpretatio, imitatio, aemulatio. Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern*, diss., Köln 1959, p. 11, 26-51, 70 et n. 117, 96, 104-107; P. SERRA ZANETTI, *Sul criterio e il valore della traduzione per Cicerone e s. Gerolamo*, dans *Atti del I congresso int. di studi ciceroniani II*, Roma 1961, p. 361-362 et 367; L. GAMBERALE, *La traduzione in Gellio*, Roma 1969, p. 97 et n. 71, 98 et n. 2 et 99 et n. 73; M. FUHRMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 25); A. TRAINA, *Vortit barbare. Le traduzioni poetiche da Livio Andronico a Cicerone (Ricerche di storia della lingua latina, 7)*, Roma 1974², p. 58; A. SETAIOLI, *Seneca e i Greci. Citazioni e traduzioni nelle opere filosofiche (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino, 26)*, Bologna 1988, p. 453-467 et *Terminologia del tradurre in Seneca*, dans *Studi offerti a F. Della Corte III*, Urbino 1987, p. 359-371; F.M. RENER, *Interpretatio. Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler (Approaches to Translation Studies, 8)*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 216 et 328.

⁶⁹ Livio Andronico e la traduzione artistica (Pubbl. dell'Univ. di Urbino. Sc. umane. Serie di linguistica, letteratura, arte, 4), Urbino 1952.

⁷⁰ *Digesta XLV 11.6: eadem an alia lingua respondeatur, nihil interest. Proinde si quis Latine interrogaverit, respondeatur ei Graece, dummodo congruenter respondeatur, obligatio constituta est (...). Sed utrum hoc usque ad Graecum sermonem tantum protrahimus an uero et ad alium, Poenum forte uel Assyrium uel cuius alterius linguae, dubitari potest. Et scriptura Sabini, sed et uerum patitur, ut omnis sermo contineat uerborum obligationem, ita tamen, ut uterque alterius linguam intellegat siue per se siue per uerum interpretem.*

littéraires commencent, avec Cicéron⁷¹, à élaborer une réflexion théorique sur la nature de leur travail, en essayant de lui donner des règles et une méthode, c'est à celui de l'*interpres* qu'ils le compareront en priorité, en l'opposant au leur, celui de l'*orator*, qui rend le sens plus que les mots. Horace, dans l'*Art poétique*⁷², fait même explicitement référence au travail du *fidus interpres*⁷³, qui, asservi à la lettre, rend un texte mot pour mot. C'est certainement à une pratique qui leur était familière que ces auteurs font allusion, et on ne risque pas de se tromper en disant qu'elle devait certainement être plus importante encore que ce que les sources nous en disent.

ANNEXE LISTE DES INTERPRÈTES À ROME⁷⁴

Date	Nom de l'interprète	Nationalité et statut de l'interprète	Sources	Lieu	Langue maternelle	Nature du bilinguisme
1. 345	? (Gaulois)	Gaulois	Livius VII 26.1	Rome	Gl	Gl/L ⁷⁵
2. 302	Caerites (citoyens <i>sine suffragio</i>)	Étrusque	Livius X 4.9	Étrurie	Et	Et/L ⁷⁶
3. 300	?	Romain	Livius X 8.3	Rome	L	L/G ⁷⁷
4. 216	?	Romain	Livius XXIII 11.1-4	Italie	L	L/G ⁷⁸
5. 215	?	?	Livius XXIII 43.9	Italie	L	L/P ⁷⁹
6. 207	?	Romain?	Livius XXVII 43.5	Italie	L	L/P ⁸⁰

⁷¹ *De optimo genere oratorum* 14. Voir encore *De finibus* III 4 (15) où, traitant des néologismes, Cicéron prend pour référence le travail des *interpretes indiserti*, qui rendent un texte mécaniquement, mot pour mot.

⁷² 133-134. Sur l'interprétation de ces vers d'Horace, A. SEELE, *Horaz als Anwalt der Übersetzer? Zur Rezeption zweier Verse der Ars poetica*, *Arcadia* 26 (1991), p. 198-203.

⁷³ Sur l'histoire de l'expression «*fidus interpres*» et sa popularité durant le Moyen-Âge, W. SCHWARZ, *The Meaning of 'fidus interpres' in the Medieval Translation*, *JThS* 45 (1944), p. 73-78.

⁷⁴ Ou accompagnant des Romains à l'étranger. Les motifs et les circonstances de la traduction sont indiqués en note. — Abréviations: L = latin; G = grec; P = punique; Gl = gaulois; Et = étrusque; Eg = égyptien; LB = langue barbare.

⁷⁵ Défi lancé à M. Valérius «*Coruus*» *per interpretem* pour un duel.

⁷⁶ Interprète pour le *legatus*.

⁷⁷ Interprète (c'est-à-dire traducteur et exégète) des *Livres Sibyllins*.

⁷⁸ Romain, interprète (*id. n. 77*) d'un oracle de Delphes ramené par Q. Fabius Pictor.

⁷⁹ Hannon s'adresse à Herennius Bassus et Herius Pettius (deux sénateurs de Nola).

⁸⁰ Lettres d'Hasdrubal à Hannibal interceptées et lues au consul Claudius par l'intermédiaire de Lucius Verginius, tribun militaire. Inversement, en 208, Hannibal fit rédiger

<i>Date</i>	<i>Nom de l'interprète</i>	<i>Nationalité et statut de l'interprète</i>	<i>Sources</i>	<i>Lieu</i>	<i>Langue maternelle</i>	<i>Nature du bilinguisme</i>
7. Avant la bataille de Cannes (216)	Satricus	Romain de Sulmone, prisonnier de guerre en Libye en 255	Silius Italicus IX 77-79	Italie	L	L/LB ⁸¹
8. 202	?	au moins un interprète romain et un interprète carthaginois	Livius XXX 30.1	environs de Zama	L P	L/P P/L ⁸²
9. 191	?	Romain?	Plutarchus, <i>Caton l'Ancien</i> 12.4-5	Athènes	L?	L/G ⁸³
10. vers 200? (<i>apud maiores</i>)	Cn. Publicius Menander	Romain, affranchi d'origine grecque	Cicero, <i>Pro Balbo</i> 11 (28)	Grèce	G	L/G ⁸⁴
11. 167	Cn. Octavius (préteur)	Romain	Livius XLV 29.2-3	Amphipolis	L	L/G ⁸⁵
12. 155	C. Acilius	Romain (sénateur)	Plutarchus, <i>Caton</i> 22; Gellius VI 14.9 et Macrobius I 5.16	Rome Sénat	L	L/G ⁸⁶
13. Sylla	plusieurs interprètes	Romains	Plutarchus, <i>Sylla</i> 27.3	Apollonie	L	L/G ⁸⁷
14. guerre de Jugurtha	Dabar (+ <i>fidi interpretes</i> de chaque côté)	Carthaginois	Sallustius, <i>BJ</i> 109.4	Afrique	P	L/P ⁸⁸

un message au nom de Marcellus (Livius XXVII 28.4-5), ce qui implique la présence d'interprètes (punique/latin) du côté carthaginois.

⁸¹ Interprète utilisé par le roi des Autololes pour s'entretenir avec les Romains.

⁸² Entrevue d'Hannibal et de Scipion.

⁸³ Discours de Caton à Athènes, prononcé en latin en présence d'un interprète, ce qui provoqua l'étonnement des Athéniens, parce que le traducteur avait besoin de beaucoup plus de mots en grec que Caton en latin.

⁸⁴ Lors du départ de *legati* pour la Grèce lors d'une mission sénatoriale avant Pydna ou avant la prise de Corinthe.

⁸⁵ Discours de Paul-Émile aux Macédoniens pour leur expliquer les décisions prises à leur sujet par le Sénat.

⁸⁶ Ambassade des trois philosophes (Carnéade, Critolaos et Diogène) à Rome.

⁸⁷ Sylla à Apollonie fait interroger un satyre endormi.

⁸⁸ Lors de l'entrevue secrète de Bocchus et de Sylla.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Nom de l'interprète</i>	<i>Nationalité et statut de l'interprète</i>	<i>Sources</i>	<i>Lieu</i>	<i>Langue maternelle</i>	<i>Nature du bilinguisme</i>
15. guerre de Crassus contre les Parthes	un interprète de Suréna	barbare	Plutarchus, <i>Crassus</i> 28	Carrhes	barbare (parle grec aussi: Plutarchus, <i>Crassus</i> 31 et 33)	L/LB ⁸⁹
16. Verrès	A. Valentius	Romain	Cicero, <i>In Verrem</i> II 337 (84)	Sicile	L	L/G ⁹⁰
17. 58	C. Valérius Troucillus (grand personnage de la Gaule romaine en qui César avait la plus grande confiance)	Gaulois	Caesar, <i>BG</i> I 19.3	Gaule	Gl	L/GI ⁹¹
18. 54	Cn. Pompée	Gaulois	Caesar, <i>BG</i> V 36.1	Gaule	L	L/GI ⁹²
19. 50 (Cicéron)	Valérius	Romain	Cicero, <i>Ad Att.</i> I 12.2 et XVI 11.7; <i>Ad fam.</i> XIII 54	Asie Mineure	L	L/G ou, plus probablement, dialectes d'Asie Mineure ⁹³
20. Germanicus	?	Égyptien	Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i> II 60.4	Égypte	Eg	Eg/L ⁹⁴
21. 66	ancien préteur	Romain	Suetonius, <i>Néron</i> 13.3	Rome	L	L/LB (arménien) ⁹⁵
22. début du II ^e siècle	? (130 interprètes)	Romains (?)	Plinius Maior, <i>HN</i> VI 5.15	région de Dioscurias	L (?)	L (G?)/langues locales ⁹⁶

B-4000 Liège

7, rue Lonhienne

Bruno ROCHETTE

⁸⁹ L'interprète est utilisé pour tendre un piège à Crassus (sur l'emploi, particulièrement dans des contextes militaires, d'une langue étrangère ou d'accents étrangers pour dérouter les auditeurs, cf. H.S. GEHMAN, «*Thy Speech bewrayeth Thee*», *TAPhA* 45, 1914, p. xvii et *Subterfuge through the Means of Language*, *TAPhA* 46, 1915, p. xvii-xviii).

⁹⁰ Traducteur de Verrès en Sicile, qui prit aussi part à ses exactions.

⁹¹ Lors d'une entrevue avec Diviciacus.

⁹² Interprète envoyé par Q. Titurius à Ambiorix pour lui demander de l'épargner. Sur l'identité de ce Cn. Pompée, cf. la note de L.-A. CONSTANS, *César. Guerre des Gaules* [CUF], t. II, Paris, 1926 [1974] p. 157 n. 1.

⁹³ Traducteur (et aussi ami) de Cicéron.

⁹⁴ Un vieux prêtre égyptien explique l'histoire de son pays à Germanicus.

⁹⁵ Lors de l'entrée de Tiridate, roi d'Arménie, à Rome, qui vient s'agenouiller devant Néron.

⁹⁶ Pour assurer des échanges commerciaux.

SINGLE COMBAT AND BEING ROMAN*

During the 1970s, historians found the study of imperialism particularly attractive. That applied to Roman historians too: Keith Hopkins' *Conquerors and Slaves* came out in 1978. It systematically examined the economic advantages which successful imperialism brought to the Romans, especially (but not exclusively) to the Roman elite. W.V. Harris' *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327-70 BC* appeared in the following year; between them, these two books have influenced the attitudes of a generation of Roman historians in the English-speaking world, and beyond. The earlier consensus, shared by historians of the Left as well as of the Right¹, that the Roman empire was the result of largely undirected, and perhaps even unintended, expansion (much like the British empire in India was supposed to have been) has been abandoned. It is now taken for granted that in the course of the fourth century BC, the Romans, hitherto a normal, if not typical, agrarian Mediterranean people, turned into something almost unique in human history: a community whose political and moral life, whose value-system, was organised in order to enable it to indulge in constant fighting. Where the Greek elite competed with each other by running races at the Olympic games — and thereby avoided too much internal *stasis*, violence within the community — the Roman elite avoided fighting each other by going and fighting others. And because the fruits of that constant successful warfare were so enormous, most (if not quite all) sections of the citizen population were kept happy by this system because they too benefited from the economic gains of imperialism: booty and land taken from the conquered and redistributed to citizens, vast numbers of slaves, the public buildings erected by conquering generals for their own glory, and of economically marginal but psychologically very significant benefit to all members of the population. Even the Italian allies who provided 60% of

* This is a revised version of a paper originally presented at a seminar on «Roman Identities» at Fuglsang, Denmark; at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, Holland; and at the 1996 U.K. Classical Association Meeting at Nottingham. My thanks to those who commented on earlier versions, and especially to Lucas de Blois, John Rich and Alan Sommerstein.

¹ J. RICH, *Fear, Greed and Glory: the Causes of Roman War-Making in the Middle Republic*, in: J. RICH – G. SHIPLEY (eds.), *War and Society in the Roman World*, London 1993, p. 38f.

the troops were acquiescent, so long as the advantages occurring from the wars they helped to win did not go too unfairly to Roman citizens alone (that happened after 167 BC, when the defeat of Macedonia enabled the Romans to stop taxing their own land, thus placing the allies at a very considerable comparative disadvantage: the resulting resentment could only be removed through the granting of citizenship to all Italian allies after the «Social War» of 91-89 BC).

This 1970s scholarship has drawn attention to many important features of how Roman society functioned. Peter Brunt had already shown in 1971 in his *Italian Manpower* that mid-republican Italy was almost unique in the proportion of its young men sent away to war for years on end — only Frederick the Great's Prussia competed, and then for a much shorter period². The theory also explains why in general imperialism stopped after Augustus: if war was a function of competition between rival Roman politicians, then the end of such competition — the monarchy — meant that there was no more need for war. This underlies the picture of republican wars as aggressive, and later wars as defensive (beginning with Domitian's wars against the Dacians and Sarmatians on the Lower Danube, and more particularly so from those of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomanni and those in the third century against the Persian Sassanian dynasty). That is not of course entirely true; particularly as regards the eastern frontier, a number of recent studies have shown the extent to which it was the Romans who were the unprovoked aggressors³. But some at least of these supposed exceptions can be explained in terms of the same cultural pattern, because Roman politicians did not just compete with their contemporaries, but also with their predecessors. To gain legitimacy, they needed to do what their predecessors had done, preferably on a larger scale and more spectacularly. So a weak emperor (in the sense of an emperor whose claim to be legitimate was weak) had to win that legitimacy through military glory. Claudius, for instance, was not a Caesar, and had no legal right to inherit the *domus Caesaris*, the household of Caesar, after Caligula's assassination in AD 41; consequently two years later, he conquered Britain. I think we can see here how «military glory» is more than some kind of metaphysical concept for the Romans,

² P.A. BRUNT, *Italian Manpower*, Oxford 1971. For the very different warfare waged by Carthage and Sparta, see C.R. WHITTAKER, *Carthaginian Imperialism*, and A. ANDREWES, *Spartan Imperialism*, in: P.D.A. GARNSEY – C.R. WHITTAKER (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 1978, p. 59-90 and 91-103 respectively.

³ F. MILLAR, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337*, Cambridge (MA) 1993.

but directly results in the approval and support of important groups of people: thus Septimius Severus' wars in the East (AD 195-198) were, perhaps, intended to create loyalty amongst the soldiers involved, who had just fought a civil war against Severus on behalf of Pescennius Niger; and the same applies to his wars in Britain (208-211), where the soldiers were those who ten years before had fought for Clodius Albinus. Warfare continued to be one of the primary mechanisms for cementing political loyalty and unity at Rome even in the third century AD.

If this foregrounding of militarism as an explanatory model for how Rome functioned seems a little dated now, it is not because it suggested a mono-causal explanation of Roman values and of how Rome functioned. It is rather because, in my opinion, it put too much emphasis on the leadership. That is not surprising: the theory arose out of a vaguely New Left critique of imperialism, i.e. American Imperialism, in the aftermath of the Vietnam War. There was more than a whiff of old-fashioned Marxism in the analysis of the Roman culture of war as a mechanism for controlling labour (slaves) and raw materials. And it is a model which implies that the guilt lies with the elite, not the people: the elite manipulates, buys the assent of the ordinary Roman soldiers to the mass killings so often perpetrated by the Roman war machine — for instance the removal of entire peoples from Liguria by Roman commanders, e.g. the Liguri Baebiani⁴. By giving citizens shares of the land stolen from defeated enemies, their assent and indeed active support was bought, much as monopoly capitalism was perceived in the 1970s as having bought the support of Middle America for the Vietnam war, or of the working class of the nineteenth-century Europe for imperialistic adventures in Africa and Asia. Another, separate academic approach to Roman imperialism, which might be called the «Strategic Studies Institute» approach, reinforced this view by directing attention to the policies, the strategy, that emanated from the top: this has resulted in some excellent scholarship, e.g. Benjamin Isaac's *The Limits of Empire* on the eastern frontier under the principate, and some brilliant but misconceived ideas, such as Edward Luttwak's famous *Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*⁵.

⁴ Livy XL 38.3; XLI 4. Pompey had no qualms about boasting in the inscription dedicating his spoils to Minerva that he had «routed, scattered in battle, killed or captured 12,183,000 persons» (Pliny, *NH* VII 97f.); Caesar gloried in the fact that only 110,000 out of 368,000 Helvetii survived his war against them (*BG* I 29.2f.).

⁵ B. ISAACS, *The Limits of Empire*, Oxford 1990 (1993²); E. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*, Baltimore 1976.

A quarter of a century later, our view of the world is no longer a simple one of decent ordinary people — or «the People» — being manipulated by the wicked military-industrial complex. So many deceptions have been uncovered that we are perhaps more inclined to blame our inability to change the world on *self*-deceptions. President Kennedy's notorious remarks about America being prepared to intervene in the defence of freedom anywhere in the world in his 1961 inauguration speech may or may not have been deception by a mouthpiece of the US military-industrial complex: but his remarks worked because they appealed to a fundamental value of his audience, the myth of freedom. If imperialism was a major factor in Roman public life for centuries, then this was only because it worked — because it appealed to values that were really experienced, by the ordinary male Roman citizen for whom the system made sense.

There were of course lots of Roman citizens, and they had lots of different values and experiences. What we have to look for in a search for «Roman identities» are values experienced in different ways, that had different meanings to different groups — though a polar view of cultural symbols in which the values approved of by (e.g.) elite males are necessarily resented and rejected by (e.g.) women and slaves does not follow. The same values may be interpreted in a different sense; what matters that the symbols associated with them can be widely acclaimed by different groups in the society. The Roman triumph is perhaps the most obvious example of a ritual integrating the whole Roman community around conquest, military victory, as the highest achievement of both an individual Roman, and the Roman community as a whole. Its supreme importance can be seen from the way in which its award was restricted during the middle republic, as traced by John Richardson⁶. The triumph cannot be overemphasised; unfortunately, too much emphasis on it could reinforce the view of Roman imperialism as top-led, as imposed on the community by the elite which won the highest prizes.

What did «ordinary» Romans think? The disadvantage of an ancient history that is centred on literary texts is that they generally tell us very little about what ordinary Romans thought, rather than what educated Romans thought that they ought to have thought. Here, archaeology can

⁶ J.S. RICHARDSON, *The Triumph, the Praetors and the Senate in the Early Second Century BC*, *JRS* 65 (1975), p. 50-63. On the triumph generally, cf. R. PAYNE, *The Roman Triumph*, New York 1962; H. VERSNEL, *Triumphus*, Leiden 1970; E. KUNZL, *Der römische Triumph*, Munich 1988.

help — though of course it raises its own problems of interpretation. In Britain, archaeologists unfortunately tend to be found in different academic departments from ancient historians and Latin and Greek philologists. V.A. Maxfield's *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* appeared in 1981; because she is in an archaeology department, her study is rather less well-known to Roman historians than the works of Hopkins and Weaver. But it seems to me to have thrown much light on the extent to which militarism was a feature of the Roman value system, for a wide section of the Roman population. Only a commander could win a triumph; but many of the military decorations of the Roman army could be won not only by officers of any rank, but by ordinary legionaries too. In particular, there was the *corona muralis*, the award for being the first soldier to climb up on the wall of an enemy encampment or city being besieged by the Romans, and the *corona civica*, of oak leaves, given to a soldier who had in one way or another saved the life of a fellow-citizen. It must be emphasised that these awards were not reserved for Romans of high status: any citizen soldier could win them, and assert his moral superiority as a Roman by displaying them — as the frequency with which they are represented on funerary reliefs from throughout the empire proves. But they could equally be displayed by members of the elite. Julius Caesar won the *corona civica* for his exploits as a military tribune at the siege of Mytilene in Asia in 80 BC; and notoriously Augustus had the oak-wreath with the inscription OB CIVES SERVATOS, for having saved the lives of fellow-citizens, symbolically placed on the door of his house on the Palatine in January 27 BC⁷. Military decorations show that militarism was a shared value for the Roman population as an activity undertaken by important sections of the adult male citizen population: it was not just a spectator sport.

This makes it important to distinguish carefully between two aspects of Roman military virtue: fighting ability, and generalship. A particularly interesting illustration of Roman values is the list of the ten great achievements in Quintus Metellus' funeral speech honouring his father Lucius Caecilius Metellus in 221 BC. Metellus had been consul in 251 and 247 BC, and censor in 224 BC. This is recorded by Pliny in his *Natural History*⁸:

⁷ Cf. Geraldine HERBERT-BROWN, *Ovid and the Fasti*, Oxford 1994, p. 200-203.

⁸ Pliny, *NH* VII 43.139f.; English translation in Jane F. GARDNER — Th. WIEDEMANN, *The Roman Household*, London 1991, p. 47: *Voluisse enim primum bellatorem esse, optimum oratorem, fortissimum imperatorem, auspicio suo maximas res geri, maximo*

He had to his credit ten of the greatest and best achievements which wise men spend their lives trying to attain. Namely, he wished to be a warrior of the first rank; an outstanding public speaker; a most courageous general; one who has won great military victories under his own auspices; to hold the highest offices; to have great wisdom; to be considered the foremost senator; to acquire a great deal of money in an honest fashion; to leave behind many children; and to be held in great fame by the community. All of these aims were achieved by him, and by no-one else since the foundation of Rome.

Some of these achievements can be seen in almost class-free terms, as values shared throughout a peasant society: to make money in an honest fashion, to have many children. Others are those which only members of the elite could hope to attain: to hold high office, to be *princeps senatus*, the first senator. What is interesting is the distinction between three different virtues associated with warfare. To be a courageous general is distinguished from winning victories under one's own auspices. Consulting the *auspicia*, investigating whether the gods were satisfied with the Roman people before taking a major political or military decision such as whether to begin a battle, was reserved to a commander, a magistrate holding supreme command, *imperium*. The implication is that there is a close link between winning a battle and correctly interpreting the will of the gods through the auspices. This is particularly interesting, since it suggests that the Roman elite saw military victory as the result, not of professionalism in being a commander, but of having the favour of the gods. The implication of that was that if a Roman general lost a battle, it was not his fault: it was because the gods had not supported the Romans as a community. N.S. Rosenstein has shown that to a surprising extent lost battles did not in fact matter to a Roman politician's future career — other factors, such as failure to spend enough money on providing spectacles for the enjoyment of the electorate, were as, if not more, important⁹. A review of Rosenstein by K.-J. Holkeskamp¹⁰ has analysed one implication of this: the Republican Roman elite did not legitimate their rule by claiming professional

honore uti, summa sapientia esse, summum senatorem haberi, pecuniam magnam bono modo invenire, multos liberos relinquere, et clarissimum in civitate esse.

⁹ N.S. ROSENSTEIN, *Imperatores Victi: Military Defeat and Aristocratic Competition in the Middle and Late Republic*, Berkeley 1990; T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *Candidates Defeated in Roman Elections* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol.81.4), Philadelphia 1991.

¹⁰ *Gnomon* 66 (1994), p. 332-342.

expertise as generals. That would have been socially divisive. On the contrary, it was a commonplace of Roman political rhetoric — here we may appeal to literary texts — that a proper Roman general did not have any professional training, had not read the Greek textbooks on how to be a general, but had learnt generalship through the experience of fighting: see what Marius says in criticism of unsuccessful generals in Sallust's *Jugurtha*¹¹.

It is only an apparent paradox that in order to legitimate their supremacy, Roman generals did not claim to hold any distinct professional skills as generals. Of course they had these skills: they had privileged access to them because of their family background, because membership of elite families enabled them to be given positions in the immediate entourage of the best generals of their time and to learn by seeing how it was done. But to emphasise that would have been to draw attention to the existence of a privileged political class: it would have been divisive. In contrast, the elite based its claim to leadership on possession of a quite separate virtue which every Roman had the opportunity to display — the first in the list of Metellus' achievements, being a good fighter, *primarium bellatorem*. By emphasising fighting as such — not generalship — no male citizen was excluded.

It did of course mean that every political leader had to show an interest in, indeed show in his own person, the willingness and ability to engage in hand-to-hand combat. No-one could lead from behind. Hence the astonishing number of references in Roman historical and moral literature to generals indulging in hand-to-hand conflict with individual opponents. Young members of elite families established their reputation by killing individual enemies on the battlefield, like the famous Manlius Torquatus. There is an entire list of them in Pliny, *NH* VII 28.101-106. A typical story is that of a 15-year old Aemilius Lepidus, who wasn't supposed to be in the army at all yet, who according to Valerius Maximus «advanced into battle, killed an enemy and saved a fellow-citizen»; the community rewarded his valour by erecting a statue to him on the Capitol¹². The best study in English of this subject is by Stephen

¹¹ Sallust, *Jugurtha* 85.12. The use of handbooks is overemphasised by B. CAMPBELL, *How to be a General*, *JRS* 77 (1987), p. 13-29.

¹² J. FRIES, *Der Zweikampf bei Titus Livius*, Meisenheim 1985. Valerius Maximus III 1.1: later Aemilii Lepidi produced a coin to ensure that this example of virtue would not be forgotten — T. MOMMSEN, *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, Munich 1856, p. 634.

Oakley¹³, who lists 31 examples of duels; but he sees these duels as an elite activity, an exception to the discipline of ordinary soldiers, and concludes his article with the observation that single combat died out with «the limits imposed upon aristocratic individualism by the institution of the Principate». One may question whether the distinction between a competitive republic and the principate was quite so sharp, and note that single combat was not restricted to the aristocracy but a game that any Roman soldier might play at, nor did it die out — examples are given by Josephus and Tacitus¹⁴.

This ideal of hand-to-hand combat is in striking contrast to the classical Greek tradition of orderly discipline within the phalanx. The phalanx gave no scope to acts of individual bravery like these. At the battle of Plataea in 479 BC, a Spartan called Aristodemus «acted like a madman by leaving the battle-line» — he wished to die because he was the single ignominious survivor of the 300 at Thermopylae. To seek to display individual *arete* in this way endangered everyone else in the battle-line: the value-system of the Greek egalitarian *polis* tolerated such displays only in the stadium or the gymnasium. The Roman legion was developed for a different kind of fighting, in which hand-to-hand combat with the short sword, the *gladius* (probably developed in Spain in the second century BC), played an important role, resulting in a much higher level of casualties¹⁵.

Hand-to-hand fighting was a basic value of the Roman world. It is in that context that we should consider the institution of *munera*, gladiatorial contests. It does not seem to me to be helpful to see these killing games as perversions — even though there are plenty of arguments from antiquity itself, especially but not exclusively by Christian writers, saying just that. But if we are to understand this social institution, we have to recognise that it appealed to something as central to the Roman identity as Kennedy's appeal to freedom did to the American identity. We have to take into account just how much material investment went into

¹³ S. OAKLEY, *Single Combat in the Roman Republic*, *CQ* N.S. 35 (1985), p. 392-410; quotation p. 410. See also J. FRIES, *op. cit.* (n. 12).

¹⁴ Josephus, *BJ* VI 168-176 (mentioned by Oakley); Tacitus, *Annals* III 21.3.

¹⁵ Herodotus IX 71.3; other Greek examples are listed by S. OAKLEY, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 402f. On Greek horror at the casualties inflicted by Roman soldiers, cf. Livy XXXI 34.4: *postquam gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora brachiiis cum humero absceis aut tota cervice desecta divisa a corpore capita patentiaque viscera et foeditatem aliam volnerum viderunt, adversus quae tela quosque viros pugnandum foret pavidi volgo cernebant.*

the games — most obviously, in the form of the buildings which the Romans erected for them, the amphitheatres¹⁶.

If the elite of the Roman world was prepared to invest such enormous resources in amphitheatres and gladiatorial displays, the evidence suggests that at least considerable sections of the population throughout the Roman empire put an equivalent emotional commitment into watching men fight to kill one another in the arena. The evidence for that is overwhelming. Historical sources note that emperors who were unwilling to give games, like Tiberius, were unpopular as a direct result, while those who did, like Tiberius' successor Caligula, won great popularity, if only temporarily¹⁷. Popular involvement might lead to rioting, such as at Pompeii in AD 59. The games were not just a public occasion: they also played a major role in the way people arranged their private experience. One thinks of the interesting graffiti recovered from Pompeii, and of the representations of contests between gladiators or of *venationes* (wild beast hunts in the arena) on mosaics, on pottery dining plates, on oil lamps and on glassware, from all parts of the empire. While the number of mosaics with representations of gladiators is by no means as large as those with chariot-races or animal fights, the fact that they are found in private houses suggests that in many parts of the Roman empire these combats had an important place in the way in which wealthy people ordered their domestic lives. It is taken for granted by the educated elite in their literary creations that their audience will have attended such shows (even where the writers themselves claim to be untainted by the emotions aroused), and that they will understand some of the technical vocabulary, and will admire and approve of the skills and courage shown by gladiators.

It was in order to prove that they belonged to the Roman community that the cities first of Italy and later of the entire empire vied with one another in providing games and constructing amphitheatres. The interest shown in spectacles of all kinds by Caligula, Claudius and Nero will have helped to create an atmosphere in which being a Roman meant being prepared to take the games seriously. Bad behaviour on the part of the audience had to be punished: it was a failure to act in accordance

¹⁶ I have discussed the symbolic role of gladiators in Roman culture in my *Emperors and Gladiators*, London 1992. For amphitheatres, see the tables on p. 275ff. of J.-C. GOLVIN, *L'amphithéâtre romain*, Paris 1988; J.-C. LACHAUX, *Théâtres et amphithéâtres d'Afrique Proconsulaire*, Aix 1980; P.J. WILKINS, *Amphitheatres and Private Munificence in Roman Africa*, *ZPE* 75 (1988), p. 216ff.

¹⁷ Suetonius, *Tiberius* 47; Josephus, *Antiquities* XIX 130.

with Roman morality. During the civil wars of AD 68/69, rival emperors sought to turn their seizure of power into legitimate rule by providing expensive *munera* (perhaps most spectacularly on Vitellius' birthday, in each of the 265 *vici* of Rome). The military ruler who finally imposed his authority, Vespasian, legitimated it by constructing the Colosseum on the site of the tyrant Nero's palace, so that (in the words of the *Book of Spectacles* ascribed to Martial), «Rome has been restored to herself, and under your presidency, Caesar, what used to be a source of pleasure for a master has become one for the whole people»¹⁸. The arena was a place of specifically Roman legitimacy, something which Vespasian was particularly anxious to claim since the principal source of his support, apart from his own army, had been a group of inter-related Hellenistic kings in the eastern half of the empire who were concerned that other candidates for the imperial office would disregard the obligations of the client-patron relationship with the Julio-Claudians that had brought them their kingdoms. Consequently he and his son Titus made a point of emphasising their Roman-ness in various ways, including holding gladiatorial shows in the Roman colony of Berytus and in other eastern cities.

Outside Italy, the spread of gladiators went hand-in-hand with Romanisation. Provincial municipal charters like the *Lex Irnitana* specify that the inhabitants of such cities, whether they were strictly Romans or not, should behave like Romans: *idem ius esto*. Jane Gardner, in her *Being a Roman Citizen*, calls such people «pretend Romans». Just as it was the mark of «pretend Greek» to patronise the theatre and the gymnasium, so that of the pretend-Roman was to watch gladiatorial *munera*. It was shown half a century ago by Louis Robert that in the eastern half of the empire too, gladiatorial games spread hand-in-hand with the identification by elites of their place within the Roman empire. Local populations will first have seen gladiators perform in shows put on by Hellenistic princes like Antiochus IV or, later, Herod Agrippa, or by the commanders of Roman armies such as Lucullus at Ephesus in 69 BC. In Roman colonies such as Berytus and Corinth, *munera* could serve as a symbol that the population (whatever their ethnic origin) was genuinely Roman and superior to the Hellenistic communities in the rest of the province. The adoption of gladiators (*monomachoi*) by other cities was to a great extent a response to this challenge. Philostratus explicitly says

¹⁸ Tacitus, *Annals* XIV 17; Pliny, *NH* III 66; Tacitus, *Histories* II 95; Martial, *Liber spectaculorum* 2.11f.

that the Athenians introduced gladiatorial games out of rivalry with Corinth; Corinth was the seat of the provincial governor, but Athens the centre of philosophical culture¹⁹. Archaeological evidence confirms how in the course of the centuries (and especially during the second half of the second century AD) more and more Hellenistic theatres were converted so that the wild beasts whose slaughter was part of the gladiatorial display could safely be displayed in them²⁰.

It is less easy to be certain about the role of the army in the spread of gladiatorial contests in the provinces. Because there was ancient tradition that *lanistae* were associated with military training (e.g. in times of military emergency when new recruits had to be trained quickly: Marius' *Rufuli*), it has been assumed that the arenas invariably found in close proximity to legionary bases had some kind of training function. In the cities of Italy from the first century BC on, and later the western provinces, a campus was laid out for the military training of young men in the *juventus*-organisation; it was normally placed immediately outside the walls²¹. Although in some cities (including Pompeii, Corfinium and Narbo) these training grounds were sited in close proximity to the amphitheatre, they were separate institutions and there is no evidence that arenas fulfilled any analogous function in military settlement. Rather, Roman legions in the provinces were a major source for the introduction of *munera* because they were Roman citizens, and wanted to display (to themselves and to others) their identification with Roman culture. If they were to be able to watch gladiators, then Roman soldiers had to provide their own: corporations of *lanistae* would not bring them to the less romanised parts of the empire, where there were no Romans who would pay to watch them. Hence the evidence for army units under the principate owning troupes of gladiators; an inscription from the lower Rhine mentions an URSARIUS LEG[IONIS] XXX U[LPIAE] V[ICTRICIS] S[EVERIANAE] A[LEXANDRINAE], and one of the beakers found at Colchester with impressions of gladiators describes a *retiarius* as VALENTINVS LEGIONIS XXX²². At the margins of the Roman empire, amphitheatres

¹⁹ Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 4.22.

²⁰ J.-C. GOLVIN – C. LANDES, *Amphithéâtres et gladiateurs*, Paris 1990.

²¹ Vitruvius I 7.1: *Marti extra urbem sed ad campum*. Cf. H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONTERTGHEM, *Neue Belege zum Campus der römischen Städte in Italien und im Westen*, ZPE 60 (1985), p. 147-158.

²² CIL XIII 8639; CIL VII 1335.3; the corresponding volume of *RIB* has not yet appeared.

reassured Roman soldiers far from home that they were part of the Roman community.

We are back with militarism. Even when killing or dying in battle was no longer a real prospect for most Roman citizens, it continued to be one for soldiers. All kinds of other shortcomings — «vices» — could be made up for if a soldier faced the prospect of death in battle bravely. Sallust's description of the death in battle of Catiline and his associates bears witness to the bravery in hand-to-hand fighting expected of a virtuous Roman, no matter how decadent his personal and political life; *memor generis atque pristinae suae dignitatis in confertissimos hostis incurrit ibique pugnans confoditur*²³.

It was this same quality, the courage to confront an opponent coupled with the technical expertise to kill or maim him, which gladiatorial contests instantiated. This perhaps explains why gladiators were at one and the same time heroised for their fighting skill, and denigrated as morally totally worthless — *infames*, persons whose speech had no weight in public life. Indeed, they were so lacking in any other aspect of *virtus*, manliness, apart from that one that they might even not be 'men' at all: consequently we have considerable literary and epigraphical evidence for women as gladiators. Gladiatorial contests, because they were between individuals whose only claim to *virtus* was by fighting, isolated such virtue from all others. For the onlookers, the match was analogous to an experiment in which fighting ability has been separated from other factors.

For all Romans, not just for soldiers, there was a link between gladiatorial combat and death. A contest was called a *munus*, a funeral obligation. Citizens attended wearing the dark *pullum* of mourning, not the toga. From the time when three pairs of gladiators first fought at Rome at the funeral of Decimus Junius Brutus Pera in 264 BC until the time of Augustus, they appeared only on occasions which (whatever the real reasons why their *editores* put them on) were overtly supposed to commemorate an individual who had recently died. To interpret that link in terms of human sacrifice, as the Christian critic Tertullian did in his wonderful rhetorical onslaught the *de Spectaculis*, is to put too much emphasis on the killing. Gladiators faced death every time they entered the arena, but they were not certain that they were going to die on any particular occasion: on the contrary, there were vested interests in favour

²³ Sallust, *Catilina* 60.7.

of their surviving. Instead of seeing a gladiatorial combat as a public display of killing, it might be useful to see it as a demonstration of the power to overcome death. The victorious gladiator overcame death by showing that he was a better fighter than his opponent. But the loser, too, might win back his life by satisfying the audience that he had fought courageously and skilfully. If he did not prove this, he would be killed by the opponent with whom he had shared his gladiatorial training. He would die no lingering death, like a criminal, but would be dispatched quickly and with a minimum of pain: even though the gladiator was *infamis*, he would die by the sword. That was the death of a citizen on the field of battle. The very fact that the gladiator was otherwise despised, had no «virtus» to display except that of hand-to-hand fighting, allowed the audience to perceive him solely as instantiating that fighting skill, so-to-speak under laboratory conditions. Indeed, the gladiator was so lacking in all other *virtus* that he need not be a *vir*, a male²⁴. He was expected to take the *coup de grace* without protest, and the ritualised way in which it was carried out will have helped many defeated gladiators to fulfil those expectations. In that sense, even the gladiator who died in the arena had overcome death. The knowledge that he had proved his ability at fighting may have been small consolation to him (though modern cynicism is not to the point); his death was certainly a consolation to those who watched it. They had assembled in order to be reminded of the death of a great Roman. Each pair of gladiators brought the Roman audience face-to-face with death; through their skill in fighting, they might escape that death, just as the deceased in whose honour the *munus* was being given would overcome death because, while alive, he had demonstrated the qualities which for Romans constituted *virtus*: he had acted as a symbol of what was seen as the most important element of Roman identity. If single combat functioned in the republic to emphasise the *virtus* and glory of the elite, that was only because it was a *virtus* and a potential *gloria* accessible to every Roman from the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD.

University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG7 2RD

Thomas WIEDEMANN

²⁴ For female gladiators, see Th. WIEDEMANN, *Emperors and Gladiators* (n. 16), p. 112.

LOCAL ELITE, EQUESTRIANS AND SENATORS: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ROMAN SAGALASSOS*

*Piae memoriae magistri
Edmundi Van 't Dack*

The most remarkable feature of the social structure of the Principate was the gradual and progressive integration of the local peripheral elites into the military command and the administration of the immense Roman Empire. Was it this integration, this 'new blood', that enabled the Empire to survive for so many centuries? Or was this phenomenon rather also responsible for the desintegration and breakup of the Imperium Romanum? It is beyond the scope of the present inquiry to give a definitive answer to this complex question.

But fact is that the Roman social order attained its peak during the first and second centuries AD. The social strata as well as the elevators, the channels, of social promotion were quite strictly defined. Formal legal criteria concerning assets and the attendant social position were rather firmly fixed in the proportions 1:4:12. The decurions and the

* Note the following abbreviations:

- H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library: The Inscriptions of the Neon-Library of Roman Sagalassos*, in M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos II (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 6)*, Leuven 1993, p. 107-123.
- H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales: Les relations sociales des chevaliers romains*, in S. DEMOUGIN – H. DEVIJVER – M.-Th. RAEPSAET-CHARLIER (eds.), *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie. Actes du colloque international Bruxelles-Leuven, 5-7 oct. 1995 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome)*, forthcoming.
- PME: H. DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum (Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis, Series A/3)*, Leuven, I 1976, II 1977, III 1980, IV (Suppl. I) 1987, IV (Suppl. II) 1993.
- H. HALFMANN, *Senatoren: Die Senatoren aus den Kleinasiatischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert (Asia, Pontus-Bithynia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia)*, in S. PANCIERA (ed.), *Epigrafi e ordine senatorio*, II (Tituli 5, 1982), p. 603-650.
- C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes: Les villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie. II. La Pisidie*, Paris 1893.
- Sagalassos IV: H. DEVIJVER – M. WAEKENS, *Roman Inscriptions from the Fifth Campaign at Sagalassos*, in M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos IV (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 9)*, Leuven 1997, forthcoming.
- Sagalassos V: H. DEVIJVER – M. WAEKENS, *Roman Inscriptions from the Sixth and Seventh Campaigns at Sagalassos*, in M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos V (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 10)*, forthcoming.

bouleutai in the larger settlements required a *census* of 100,000 sesterces. The minimal *census* for *equites Romani* was 400,000, for senators 1,200,000 sesterces. This did not mean cash holdings, but rather landed property to match that *census*. This minimal worth however did not imply automatic entry in the *ordines* involved. Admission to the *ordo senatorius*, *ordo equester*, *ordines decurionum* / *bouleutarum* had to be applied for. After the *probatio* the candidate's name could be registered in the *album*, which could at all times be checked by the emperor.

The Romans, with their sense of precision and hierarchy, developed the pyramidal concept of a social order. At the top of the pyramid stood the emperor and the *domus imperatoria*; the senators were the emperor's immediate collaborators and managed the empire. These senators formed, together with the equestrian order, the second social order, the imperial aristocracy. Just as many senators had ascended from equestrian rank, so too the majority of the knights came from the local municipal elite or citizenry. This local municipal elite obtained the *civitas Romana* and often provided *equites Romani* already from the second generation, and even senators in a following generation. Rome thus took a gradual path with these loyal elements, at least during the first two centuries of the Principate¹.

It is the intention of the present paper to track down these three social strata in Sagalassos and to set them in the overall context of the Roman social structure. Successively we will deal with the local elite, the equestrians, and the senators.

A. THE LOCAL ELITE

Loyalty to the new Roman order is nicely illustrated at Sagalassos by the fact that the *demos* honoured the conqueror and first governor of Galatia, Marcus Lollius, as its *patronus* (τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα — Pl. 1)².

This loyalty is further confirmed by the numerous honorific inscriptions and statues for the emperors of the Principate. These tokens of hon-

¹ G. ALFÖLDY, *Römische Sozialgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1984³, p. 83-138; H. DEVIJVER, *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army I (Mavors. Roman Army Researches, 6)*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 396-411.

² *Sagalassos* V, no. 1.

our to the emperor emanated from the *polis*, the *boule*, the *demos*, but also from individual members of the local elite.

On the other hand, it must be said that the Romanization and social promotion of the local elites in the municipalities of the Imperium Romanum was a conscious and deliberate policy of the Roman emperors of the first two centuries. In the Greek-speaking part of the empire, it was necessary first to be Hellenized before becoming Romanized³.

Paideia was indeed one of the basic prerequisites of membership in the local elite and certainly in the imperial aristocracy of knights and senators. For these elites there were three preconditions: wealth (*facultates*), participation in the rhetorical–juridical culture (*paideia*), the munificence within the framework of the polis (*euergesia*, *munificentia*). The possession of wealth, especially landed property, enabling one to declare the minimum *census*, was the primordial criterion, for without that one could not fulfil the other two requirements. Whoever possessed *facultates* had the money, and the time (*otium*), to free himself (*schola*) from the worries of daily life and enjoy the education and schooling of the best paid teachers: *paideia*. In addition, this elite, thanks to its economic surplus, was able to meet the ethos of its social status, namely the holding of public office (*honores*), which imposed enormous financial obligations. The local elite had to exercise *euergesia*, *munificentia*. In the tradition of the Greek liturgies affluent citizens had to make expenses for the relief of the *polis*. Such *euergetai* personally (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων) financed building programmes, religious festivals, imperial cults (*archiereus*), games (*agones*, *agonothetes*). They distributed grain, olive oil, even money among the populace. The only compensation they could expect for their financial efforts was the recognition of their *euergesia* by the local *boule* and *demos*, who honoured them with statues and honorific inscriptions (which the honorands usually had to pay for as well) so that they would live on in the *memoria* of posterity⁴.

These mechanisms of Romanization and of the integration of the local elite in the Roman social order can be concretized for Sagalassos. The first prerequisite was of course the possession of the *civitas Romana*. For Sagalassos we know the first *cives Romani* of a number of families.

³ H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 115.

⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 115.

1. Tiberii Claudii

– Tib. Claudius Quirina Neon filius Eilagoou:

- (1) R. PARIBENI — P. ROMANELLI, *MonAL* 23 (1914), p. 260 no. 173;
Sagalassos IV, no. 2.2:
 Τιβέριον | Κλαύδιον | Εἰλαγού | υἱὸν | Κυρεῖνα | Νέωνα, |
 Τιβέριος | Κλαύδιος | Κράτων | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα.
- (2) *Sagalassos* V, no. 7:
 ΟΑΒΡΕ.....ΜΑ | Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον | Ἰλαγού υἱὸν
 Νέωνα | ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτούς.
- (3) *Sagalassos* IV, no. 2.1; *CIG* III 4373:
 Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Κλαυδίο[υ] | Νέωνος υἱὸν | Κυρεῖνα
 Ἀκύλαν ἀρετῆς | ἕνεκεν.
- (4) *Sagalassos* V, no. 8:
 ὁ δῆμος | Ἰλαγὸαν | Καλλικλέους.

Ilagoas (4), son of Kallikles, is honoured by the *demos* of Sagalassos and was a member of the native local elite. The archaeological context of the inscription's setting makes it clear that Ilagoas was a brother of Krateros⁵ and that they were sons of Kallikles dis⁶.

Ilagoas' son, Tib. Claudius Neon Quirina (1; 2) was the first of the family to acquire Roman citizenship and indeed, to my knowledge, the first known *civis Romanus* from Sagalassos. He took the *praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium* and *tribus* of the emperor: Tib. Claudius Quirina (presumably the emperor Tiberius Claudius). The *cognomen* Neon is autochthonous. The relationship to Tib. Claudius Ilagoas from Sagalassos and the homonyms from Termessus cannot be determined precisely⁷.

The grandson of Ilagoas, and son of Tib. Claudius Neon, was Tib. Claudius Akulas (Aquila) Quirina (3). This Tib. Claudius Aquila is probably identical with the person mentioned on the honorific monument for the emperor Trajan by Claudia Severa⁸.

– Tib. Claudius Ilagoas:

This family ascended to the *ordo equester*: Tib. Claudius Piso, son of Tib. Claudius Ilagoas, held all three ranks of the Roman equestrian officers, the classical *tres militiae*. Therefore this family will be dealt with under section B «Equestrians» (see stemma).

⁵ C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, nos. 211, 218.

⁶ See *Sagalassos* V, no. 8; cf. stemma.

⁷ Cf. stemma; *Sagalassos* IV, no. 2.2; *Sagalassos* V, no. 7.

⁸ Cf. stemma; C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 222; *Sagalassos* IV, nos. 2.1, 3.2.

– Tib. Claudius Dareius

- (1) C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 221; *IGR* III 345; *AE* 1893, 55: Νέωι Ἡλίωι Νέρωνι Τιβερίωι Κλαυδίωι | Καίσαρι Γερμανικῶι [Τι. Κ]λ. Δαρεῖος καὶ οἱ | υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ [ἀ]νέθηκαν.
- (2) C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 205; *IGR* III 343:
 - (a) ... Κ]λαυδίου Δαρείου υἱὸς Καλλικῆς (*sic*) τοι.....πιου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν.
 - (b) Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ πατρίοις καὶ τῶι δήμωι Τιβέ[ριος Κλαύδιος Κλαυδίου Δαρείου υἱὸς Κ]αλλικῆς (*sic*) το.... |.....[πιου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων]... ἀνέθηκεν.
- (3) C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 217: non spectat ad Tib. Claudium Dareium (see section B. Equestrians, no. 1: Tib. Claudius Piso).
- (4) *Sagalassos* IV, no. 2.3:

Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον | Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου | Καλλικλέους υἱὸν
| Κυρεῖνα Ῥῆγγλον υἱὸν |⁵ πόλεως, κτίστην, φιλόπατριν
(*hedera*) | Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος | Αἴγυπτος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρω-
να καὶ |¹⁰ εὐεργέτην.

Tib. Claudius Dareius was probably a new citizen of Nero⁹. The loyalty of Tib. Claudius and his sons, Tib. Claudius Kallikles and Tib. Claudius [- - -], to the *domus imperatoria* appears clearly from inscriptions (1) and (2).

The grandson of Tib. Claudius Dareius and son of Tib. Claudius Kallikles, Tib. Claudius Regulus, was a *euergetes* of Sagalassos, as his honorary titles show: υἱὸν πόλεως, κτίστην, φιλόπατριν.

The relationship of Claudia Regilla, who was married to an *eques Romanus*, to Tib. Claudius Regulus cannot be exactly established¹⁰.

– Claudia Severa: see stemma; see also Tib. Claudius Quirina Neon filius Ilagoou and the Titi Flavii (local elite)¹¹.

– Cl(audius) Philippius Varus: see P. Aelius Quintus Cl(audius) Philippius Varus (local elite).

– Cl(audius) Pomponius¹² was a Roman citizen, but his funerary inscription gives no further details of his social status.

2. Titi Flavii

– T. F(lavius) Attalou filius Quirina Neon:

⁹ Cf. stemma; H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 112.

¹⁰ *Sagalassos* V, no. 21; see also section B Equestrians.

¹¹ H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108, 110; *Sagalassos* IV, no. 3.2.

¹² C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 232.

- (1) H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 107 no. 2.3 (AE 1993, 1557):
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Τ(ίτον) Φ(λάουιον) Ἀττάλου υἱὸν
 Κυρεῖνα Νέωνα, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σελβαστῶν πρῶτον, διὰ βίου
 δὲ ἀγωνοθέτην, υἱὸν τῆς | πόλεως, φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλόπα-
 τριν, πανάρετον.
- (2) *Sagalassos* IV, no. 1.1:
 οἱ γεραιοὶ | ἐτείμησαν ἐκ τῶν | ιδίων | Τίτον Φλάουιον
 Ἀττάλου υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα (*hedera*) | Νέωνα, ἀρχιερέα τῶν
 Σελβαστῶν πρῶτον, διὰ βίου | δὲ ἀγωνοθέτην, υἱὸν | τῆς
 πόλεως, φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλόπατριν, παλνάρετον, ἀρετῆς
 ἐνεικεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς | εἰς αὐτοὺς (*hedera*).
- (3) H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108 no. 2.5 (AE 1993, 1559):
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Κλαυδίαν Σεουήραν, γυναῖκα Τίτου |
 Φλαοῦιου Νέωνος, μητέρα πόλεως, | πανάρετον.
- (4) H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 107 no. 2.2 (AE 1993, 1556) (see
 section B. Equestrians, no. 2):
 ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ] ὁ δῆμος | Τ(ίτον) Φ(λάουιον) Ἀτταλιανὸν
 Κο[υ]αδρᾶτον, ἑπαρχον σπείρης β' | Θρακῶν, χειλίαςρχον
 λεγεῶνος γ' Γαλλικῆς, πανάρετον, ἥρωα.
- (5) H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108 no. 2.4 (AE 1993, 1558):
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Πόπλιον Φλάουιον Φλαοῦιου Νέωνος
 | υἱὸν Κυρεῖνα Δαρεῖον, ἥρωα, | πανάρετον.
- (6) H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108 no. 2.6 (AE 1993, 1560) (see
 section B. Equestrians, no. 6):
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Φλαοῦιαν Σεουήραν, γυναῖκα Ἰουλίου
 Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | θυγατέρα πόλεως,
 πανάρετον.
- (7) H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108 no. 2.7 (AE 1993, 1561) (see
 section B. Equestrians, no. 4): M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus.
- (8) (a) H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 107 no. 2.1 (AE 1993, 1555)
 (Pl. 3):
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Τ(ίτον) Φ(λάουιον) Σεουηριανὸν Νέωνα
 υἱὸν πόλεως, φιλόπατριν, κτίστην, πανάρετον, ἀγωνοθέτην ἐκ
 τῶν | ιδίων δι' αἰῶνος, τειμῆς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.
 (b) C. LANCORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 232a; *CIG* III 4374:
 Τ(ίτω) Φλ(αοῦίω) Σεουηριανῶ Νέωνι τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐ[τῆς καὶ –
 – – τῷ] | τέκνω αὐτῆς καὶ ἑαυτῇ Αἰλία Οὐ[– – –]. See above,
 Publia Aelia Ulpiana Noe.
 (c) *Sagalassos* V, no. 11:
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ | ὁ δῆμος | Τί(τον) Φλ(άουιον) Σεουηριανὸν
 Νέωνα | ἥρωα κτίστην | καὶ φιλόπατριν.
 (d) *Sagalassos* V, no. 12:
 [ἡ?] πατρὶς | [τ]ὸν ἰδίον αὐτῆς αἰώνιον | κτίστην καὶ | φιλό-
 πατριν, Τίτ(ον) Φλάουιον | Σεουηριανὸν | Νέωνα ἥρωα | ἐκ
 τῶν ιδίων |¹⁰ αὐτοχρημάτων | *vacat 13 cm* | ἐγένετο ἀρχῆς τῆς
 | περὶ Αὐρ(ήλιον) Διομηδιανὸν Μακεδονία¹⁵ν Ῥόδωνα.

For the family relationships of the Titi Flavii, the builders of the Neon-library, reference may be made here to my previous contributions¹³.

T. F(lavius) Neon, son of Attalus, registered in the *tribus Quirina*, was the first *civis Romanus* of the family. He obtained the citizenship in all probability from the emperor Vespasian, whose *praenomen*, *nomen gentilicium* and *tribus* he took. His *cognomen*, Neon, refers to his native milieu.

In the seven inscriptions of the family gallery along the wall of the Neon-library (Pl. 2) we can read, between the lines, both the family ties and the influence of a powerful *patronus* in the social promotion of this family¹⁴. Indeed, the last of the seven inscriptions concerns M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus (see section B. Equestrians no. 4) who strictly speaking was not a member of the family of the T. Flavii. His presence in the gallery is to be explained by the fact that he was the family's *patronus*. After a brilliant career as equestrian officer and *procurator*, he attained one of the highest posts open to the *ordo equester*, namely that of *iuridicus Alexandriae ad Aegyptum*, the second in command in the imperial 'crown colony' of Egypt (after the *praefectus Aegypti*). In that capacity he was known to the emperor. His intervention surely accelerated the social promotion of the T. Flavii. For that matter, a son of T. F(lavius) Neon, the new *civis Romanus*, would rise to equestrian status: T. F(lavius) Attalianus Quadratus¹⁵.

Marriage could also be a factor of social advancement. Thus we see that the social relations of the T. Flavii with the influential patron M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus were sealed and consolidated through the marriage of (M.) Iulius Maximianus, equestrian *procurator* and son of the *patronus*, with Flavia Severa, the daughter of the family's first *civis Romanus*. And the new citizen, T. F(lavius) Neon, himself married Claudia Severa, member of the prominent family of the Tib. Claudii (see stemma).

From the stemma some elements can be deduced of the onomastic tradition of these newly enfranchised families¹⁶. Closer inspection reveals that the *cognomen* or *cognomina* were taken from a grandparent or

¹³ *Neon-Library*, p. 107-123; *Sagalassos* IV, nos. 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 3.2; *Sagalassos* V, nos. 8, 11, 12, 13; cf. stemma.

¹⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales*.

¹⁵ Cf. stemma; see also section B Equestrians.

¹⁶ H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 114.

formed after the *cognomen* of a grandparent, in both cases usually the paternal grandfather's. Thus (see stemma):

- T. F(lavius) Attali filius Quirina *Neon*, after his grandfather *Neon*.
- T. F(lavius) *Attalianus* Quadratus, after his grandfather *Attalos*.
- T. F(lavius) *Severianus Neon*, after his grandmother Claudia *Severa* and grandfather T. F(lavius) *Neon*.

This family of the T. Flavii perfectly fits the profile that Rome expected the local municipal elite to display: *facultates*, *euergesia*, *paideia*. The first Roman citizen of the family, T. F(lavius) Attalou filius Quirina Neon, demonstrates his loyalty to the *domus imperatoria*: the first high priest of the imperial cult (ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν πρῶτον), he proudly calls himself φιλοκαίσαρα; he organised *agones* all his life: διὰ βίου δὲ ἀγωνοθέτην. In other words, he personally financed the organization of the imperial cult and of the *agones*.

The family's *euergesia*, which is lauded by *boule* and *demos*, probably peaked with the construction of the library by T. F(lavius) Severianus Neon (Pl. 3) in honour of his deceased father Publius Flavius Dareius, who presumably bequeathed his books to the *polis* Sagalassos. The building of the library makes the *paideia* and *euergesia* of this local elite patently clear. But the builder of the library (κτίστην) also paid for *agones*, and did so *in perpetuum* (ἀγωνοθέτην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δι' αἰῶνος). That the founder (κτίστης) of the library enjoyed enormous prestige is proved by two other inscriptions, one erected in his honour by the *boule* and *demos*, the second at the beginning of the third century¹⁷.

The other members of the family must also have made their *facultates* available to the community, as is apparent from the honorary titles bestowed on them by *boule* and *demos*: μητέρα πόλεως (Claudia Severa), θυγατέρα πόλεως (Flavia Severa). Thus Claudia Severa set up a monument in honour of the emperor Trajan and the *polis*¹⁸.

During the first two centuries of the Principate social promotion pursued a gradual course. Often the second generation of new citizens attained equestrian status. Thus T. F(lavius) Attalianus Quadratus (see stemma) fulfilled the *militiae equestres* (on which more will be said in connection with the knights from Sagalassos). And so this local elite was

¹⁷ *Sagalassos* V, nos. 11, 12.

¹⁸ C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 222; for a new reading of this text see *Sagalassos* IV, no. 3.2.

able to show its loyalty on two levels: on the one hand within the *polis* by dedicating statues to the emperor, by building temples for the imperial cult, by organizing that cult, and on the other hand by serving the emperor through military commands and administrative positions in the Empire.

– T. Flavius Collega x Flavia Longilla:

- (1) *Sagalassos* V, no. 10:
Φλαουίαν Λονγίλλαν Φλάουιος Κολλήγας ἰ ὁ ἀνὴρ.
- (2) *Sagalassos* V, no. 10; R. PARIBENI – P. ROMANELLI, *MonAL* 23 (1914), p. 257-258; C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 200; *IGR* III 342:
Ἀπόλλωνι Κλαρίῳ καὶ Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι Τ. Φλ. Κολλήγας, μετὰ Φλ. Λονγίλλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, τὸ περίπτερον· [τὸν δὲ ναὸν μετὰ καὶ Ἑρμοῖ]λάου τῶν Διομήδους καὶ Ἀδο.... [τῆς]..... ἰ καὶ μητρὸς τοῦ Κολλήγα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ἐκ δηναρίων μυρίων τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων ἐν χρόνῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τοῦ Κολλήγα κατασκευάσας ἀνέθηκε καὶ καθιέρωσεν αὐτὸς διὰ [..... ἐπὶ] Πρόκλου τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἡγεμόνο[ς] ἰ τὴν δὲ σκούτλωσιν τῶν τοίχων τ[ο]ῦ ναοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς Φλ. Κολλήγας καὶ Τ.Φλ. [Οὐ]ἄρος Δαρεῖος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, διὰ Φλ. Διομήδους]..... καὶ

T. Flavius Collega, with his wife Flavia Longilla, his mother, his brother T. Flavius Varus Dareius, and perhaps other family members whom we cannot identify due to the fragmentary state of the text, financed the decoration and restoration of the temple of Apollo Klarios. The temple is dedicated not only to that god, but also to the imperial cult and to the *polis* (καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῇ πατρίδι).

The inscription of the Apollo Klarios temple has often been the subject of debate, mainly because of the name of the governor, [- - -] Πρόκλου τοῦ σεμνοτάτου ἡγεμόνο[ς - -], which requires some supplementation. Recently I proposed to restore the name of one of two *proconsules Asiae*: C. Aquillius Proculus (a. 103-104) or (Q. Fulvius Gillo) Bittius Proculus (a. 115-116): for the argumentation the reader is referred to the relevant paper¹⁹.

There are additional arguments for this dating. T. Flavius Collega and his wife Flavia Longilla are probably new citizens of the Flavian dynasty; in all likelihood they obtained the citizenship through the intervention of their *patronus*, Cn. Pompeius Collega, *legatus Augusti pro*

¹⁹ See *Sagalassos* V, nos. 9, 10.

praetore Galatiae / Cappadociae, ca. a. 73/74–77/78 (?)²⁰. T. Flavius Collega therefore took the *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium* of the emperor Vespasian but the *cognomen* of his patron, Cn. Pompeius *Collega*. In Antiocheia Pisidiae Pompeius Collega was honoured as *patrono co[l(oniae)] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (CIL III 6817 = ILS 998).

I further believe that the first *agones Klareia*, introduced by Tib. Claudius Piso, probably took place on the occasion of the inauguration of the restored temple of Apollo Klarios. Tib. Claudius Piso is precisely to be situated around this time: a. 103/104 — rather than a. 115/116²¹.

The new *civis Romanus*, T. Flavius Collega, and his entire family demonstrated their gratitude and loyalty by using their *euergesia* to decorate the temple of Apollo Klarios, which was also dedicated to the cult of the emperor. While Flavius Collega was high priest of the imperial cult (*archiereus* — ἐν χρόνῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης) the enterprise was completed.

3. Marci Ulpī

See section C Senators, M. Ulpīus Callippianus.

4. Publii Aelii

– P. Aelius Akulas (Aquila) x P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe:

(1) *Sagalassos* IV, nos. 1-2

Π(όβλιαν) (*hedera*) Αἴλιαν Οὐλπιανὴν Νοῆν | θυγατέρα | Σελεύκῳ¹⁵ Ἀντιόχῳ | Βιάνορος | σωφροσύνης ἔνεκα.

(2) *Sagalassos* V, no. 13 (Pl. 4):

ἡ βουλὴ (*hedera*) | καὶ | ὁ δῆμος | Π(όβλιαν) (*hedera*) Αἴλιαν¹⁵ Ἀρούντιαν | θυγατέρα | Π(οβλίου) (*hedera*) Αἰλίου (*hedera*) | Ἀκύλου, γυλναῖκα (*hedera*) Π(οβλίου) (*hedera*)¹⁰ Αἰλίου Μεττίλου Φιλίππου, | σωφροσύνης | καὶ φιλανδρίας ἔνεκα ἡ¹⁵ρωίδα τετειμημένην | πάσαις ταῖς | ἀρίσταις τειμαῖς τὴν δὲ ἀ²⁰νάστασιν τοῦ | ἀνδριάντος | ἐποίησατο | Π(όβλια) (*hedera*) Αἴλια Οὐλπιανὴ Νοῆ¹²⁵ (*hedera*) ἡ μήτηρ (*hedera*).

²⁰ W. ECK, *Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139* [I], *Chiron* 12 (1982), p. 293, 295, 296, 297; R.K. SHERK, *Roman Galatia: the Governors from 25 B.C. to A.D. 114*, in *ANRW* II 7.2, Berlin–New York, 1980, p. 998–999; B.E. THOMASSON, *Laterculi praesidum*, Göteborg 1984, p. 246 no. 6; B. REMY, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C. – 284 ap. J.-C.)* (*Varia Anatolica*, II), Istanbul–Paris 1989, p. 187–188.

²¹ For the argumentation see *Sagalassos* V, nos. 2–6, 9–10, and the discussion of Tib. Claudius Piso in the present paper, p. 132–134 no. 1.

- (3) *CIG* III 4374 (C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 232a); H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 112; *Sagalassos* IV, no. 1.2; *Sagalassos* V, no. 13:

Τ(ίτω) Φλ(αουίω) Σεουηριανῶ Νέωνι τῶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτ[ῆς καὶ – – – τῶ] | τέκνω αὐτῆς καὶ ἑαυτῇ Αἰλία Οὐ[– – –].

- (4) C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 210; *IGR* III 351; *Sagalassos* V, no. 13:

ὑπὲρ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου [Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἀ[ντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ αἰωνίου] διαμονῆς, [τῇ λαμπρο]τάτῃ καὶ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρί[δι, πρώτη τῆς Πισιδίας, φίλ]ῃ καὶ συμμ[άχῳ] Ῥωμαίων, Πόπλιος Αἴλιος Ἀ[ντιόχου Νέω]νος Ῥόδωνος δις Κόνωνος [Ῥ]κύλας, ἀρχιερασάμενος τῶ[ν Σεβαστῶν, ἐπέδωκε, πρὸς ἄλλοις οἷς ἐφιλοτειμήσατο, κ]αὶ εἰς κατασκευὴν τοῦ μακέλ[λου, δηνά- ρια μύρια καὶ τρισχεῖλια].

The restoration of this inscription is highly problematic. A number of anomalies were already pointed out in *Sagalassos* V, as were the arguments to date the inscription in 166 or shortly thereafter. In the present context we are mainly interested in the dedicator of the inscription.

Our starting point is inscription (2) because it offers the most complete information on this family of Publīi Aelii. The deceased P. Aelia Aruntia is honoured by *boule* and *demos*, and her mother P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe has a statue set up. The father of P. Aelia Aruntia is P. Aelius Akulas (Aquila), her husband P. Aelius Mettius Philippus; the latter probably obtained the *civitas Romana* from Hadrian, perhaps through the intercession of one *Mettius*, his patron. Who was this Mettius? A possibility is (C. Trebonius Proculus) *Mettius* Modestus, who mostly appears as simply Mettius Modestus in the inscriptions (*PIR* V² M568), *proconsul Asiae* in 119-120²². Under Trajan (a. 99-102) this Mettius Modestus had also been *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Lyciae et Pamphyliae*²³. His homonymous grandson Mettius Modestus was likewise governor of Lycia and Pamphylia in 130-133²⁴. In any event, the name of the new *civis Romanus* read: P. Aelius (refers to the emperor Hadrian) Mettius (name of his *patronus*) Philippus (his original Greek name). Since the parents-in-law of P. Aelius Mettius Philippus were also

²² W. ECK, *Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139* [II], *Chiron* 13 (1983), p. 152; B.E. THOMASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 224 no. 108.

²³ *PIR* V² M568; W. ECK, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 332; B.E. THOMASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 278 no. 16.

²⁴ *PIR* V² M568; W. ECK, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 169 n. 415; B.E. THOMASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 280 no. 25.

new citizens of Hadrian, and as Philippus is to be situated a generation later, his patron may well have been Mettius Modestus (a. 130-133).

Indeed, the parents-in-law of P. Aelius Mettius Philippus, viz. the couple P. Aelius Akulas and P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe, had received the citizenship from the emperor Hadrian.

P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe is mentioned in inscription (1) as daughter of Seleukos, granddaughter of Antiochos and great-granddaughter of Bianor. Her father, then, was clearly not a Roman citizen. She received the franchise from the emperor Hadrian. Women with a *praenomen* (in this case *Publia*) are not uncommon in Asia in the second/third century²⁵. Her *cognomen* *Ulpiana* is also found in an inscription discovered during the 1996 campaign in Sagalassos: ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμο[ς] | ᾿Αντίοχον Οὐλπια[ν]οῦ? | [- - -]²⁶. Any family bond between the two, *Ulpiana* / *Ulpianus*, remains pure conjecture. That P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe belonged to the municipal elite of Sagalassos is confirmed by an inscription found during the 1995 campaign: οἱ γερατοὶ (hedera) | Σελεῦκον | ᾿Αντιόχου | φιλόπατριν²⁷: the *gerousia* honours her father as φιλόπα-τριν.

P. Aelius Akulas is explicitly mentioned as the husband of P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe in inscription 2 (Pl. 4); they had a daughter, P. Aelia Aruntia, who died prematurely (ἡρώϊδα).

The identification of P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe with the wife of the founder of the library of Sagalassos (text 3) has been argued at length elsewhere²⁸. She was presumably first married to P. Aelius Akulas, by whom she had a daughter P. Aelia Aruntia (inscription 2); sometime after the latter's early death the couple presumably divorced. P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe then married for a second time with T. Flavius Severianus Neon, the founder of the library. Upon the death of her second husband she built a mausoleum for him, her child and herself (text 3). A salient feature of this funerary monument's inscription is the explicit instruction that «her» child (- - - τῷ τέκνῳ αὐτῆς) — not «their» child as Lanckoronski would have it²⁹ — is to be interred in the mausoleum. A child from another marriage may be interred in a tomb if this is explicitly

²⁵ *Sagalassos* V, no. 13.

²⁶ *Sagalassos* V, no. 15.

²⁷ *Sagalassos* V, no. 14.

²⁸ H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, no. 2.1; *Sagalassos* IV, no. 1.2; *Sagalassos* V, nos. 11-13.

²⁹ *Villes*, no. 232: καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτῶν.

stated in the inscription in accordance with sacred law. In this case «her» child presumably means P. Aelia Aruntia, the deceased daughter from her first marriage to P. Aelius Akulas.

P. Aelius Akulas (Aquila) from inscription (2) is the same person as the financier of the *macellum*, «le marché alimentaire»³⁰, in text (4). The new dating of this inscription to 166 or a bit later was discussed in a previous article³¹. P. Aelius Akulas mentions in the text the names of his father and ancestors, who clearly did not possess Roman citizenship: Ἀ[ντιόχου Νέωνος Ῥόδωνος δις Κόνωνος. As a member of the local elite he demonstrates his *euergesia* by paying for the *macellum*. As newly enfranchised *civis Romanus* he assumes the financial burden of high priest of the emperor's cult (ἀρχιερασάμενος τῶ[ν Σεβαστῶν] — text 4). This loyalty to the *domus imperatoria* is given extra emphasis by the inauguration of the *macellum* in honour of an imperial victory — probably Marcus Aurelius' defeat of the Parthians, 12 October 166 (ὑπὲρ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος etc.): this is a striking expression of the ideology and the ethos of this Romanized local elite.

The stemma of the Greek ancestors of P. Aelius Akulas is known from text 4. An inscription on the base of a statue of Hadrian probably introduces us to his brother: Αὐτοκράτορα | Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν | Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ἀτταλὸς Νέωνος Ἀντιόχου φιλόπατρις | ἀνέθηκεν | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων³². Neon is presumably a brother of P. Aelius Akulas (see stemma). Despite the family's loyalty neither Neon nor his son Attalos possessed the Roman citizenship, unless the latter obtained it afterwards.

The discovery of two new inscriptions during the Sagalassos excavations of 1996 has made it possible to hypothetically extend the stemma of the Greek forebears of P. Aelius Akulas³³.

– P. Ael(ius) Quintus Cl(audius) Philippianus Varus:

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 195; *IGR* III 360 (basis statuae):

Π(όβλιον) Αἰ(λίον) Κουίντον Κλ(αύδιον) | Φιλίππιανὸν Οὐᾶρον, | ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου | ἀγώνων Κλαρείων καὶ | Οὐαρείων, ἀρχιε-

³⁰ C. DE RUYT, *Macellum: Marché alimentaire des Romains (Publications d'Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 35)*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1983, p. 190; L. VANDEPUT, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor. Sagalassos: a Case Study (Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology, 1)*, Turnhout 1997, p. 214-215.

³¹ See *Sagalassos* V, no. 13.

³² C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 215; *IGR* III 347; *Sagalassos* IV, no. 4.2.

³³ See *Sagalassos* V, nos. 16-18; cf. stemma.

ρέα | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ φιλόδοξον ἡμερῶν δ' ὀλοκλήρων ὀξέσι
σιδηροῖς ἐπὶ ἀποτόμοις | ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ε' | καὶ σιδηροκόν-
τρα, | συντεχνία βαφέων τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην | βουλῆς καὶ δήμου
| δόγματι, | ἐπιμελησάμενου | Κλ(αυδίου) Μήνιδος.

The college of painters (συντεχνία βαφέων — *collegium offectorum*) honours its benefactor P. Ael(ius) Quintus Cl(audius) Philippianus Varus with a statue and in accordance with a decision of the *boule* and *demos*. Cl(audius) Menis was responsible for the implementation. The honorand is clearly mentioned with his offices. He was a lifelong *agonothetes* for the *Klareia* and *Vareia agones* and *archiereus* of the imperial cult.

As *archiereus* he was one of the most prosperous members of the elite of Sagalassos and aspired to fame and prestige (φιλόδοξον) through his *euergesia*. As *archiereus* he gave a spectacular *munus gladiatorium*. Over a period of four full days (ἡμερῶν δ' ὀλοκλήρων) he organized gladiatorial combat, in which sharp weapons were used (ὀξέσι σιδήροις), meaning a fight to the death, all the more brutal (ἐπὶ ἀποτόμοις) and therefore more spectacular! Each day five pairs of gladiators 'performed' (ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ε') in a fight with an iron hunting spear (σιδηροκόντρα). Reference may here be made to another Sagalassos inscription pertaining to the *arena* (CIG 4377 = Kaibel, *Epigr.* 407 = *IGR* III 362) which makes mention of *venationes* whereby *bestiarii* fought against bears, panthers and lions. For the broader context of the *munera gladiatoria* in the East L. Robert³⁴ remains indispensable, also for the two Sagalassos inscriptions.

This Philippianus is presumably identical with Cl(audius) Philippianus Varus:

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 202 (basis statuae):
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ | ὁ δῆμος | ἐτείμησεν | Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἰδομενέα, υἱὸν
Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἰδομενέως ἐ[νδ]ό[ξως] | νεικήσαντα | ἀγῶνα Κλά-
ρειον παίδων | πάλην, ἀγωνοθετοῦντος διὰ βίου | Κλ(αυδίου)
Φιλίππαινοῦ Οὐάρου | (?)ΤΕ υἱοῦ πόλειως φιλοπάτριδος [κ]αὶ
φιλοδότου.

Cl(audius) Philippianus Varus was lifelong *agonothetes* for the *agones Klareia*. He was probably adopted by one P. Aelius Quintus, whose name he bears in the first-mentioned inscription followed by his proper name: P. Ael(ius) Quintus Cl(audius) Philippianus Varus. The

³⁴ *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris 1940.

adoptive father manifestly belonged to a family that received the citizenship from the emperor Hadrian.

For the sake of completeness, mention may also be made here of:

– P. Aelius Tiuba

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 197 (basis statuae):

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Πόπλιον Αἴλιον ΤΙΥΒΑ | υἱὸν πόλεως φιλό-
πατριν | πανάρετον [ἀρ]ετῆς ἐνεῖκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς |
[ἐαυ]τούς.

5. Titi Aelii

– T. Aelius Aurelianus Tudeus, qui et Alexander, and his brother T. Aelius Valerianus Demarchius:

R. PARIBENI — P. ROMANELLI, *MonAL* 23 (1914), p. 260 no. 172:

ἡ βουλὴ | καὶ | ὁ δῆμος | Τ(ίτον) Αἴλιον Αὐρηλιανὸν Τυδέα
τὸν | καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, | ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν, υἱὸν βουλῆς,
υἱὸν ἐκκλησίᾳς, υἱὸν πόλεως, | φιλόπατριν, ἐνδοξῶς καὶ
φιλοτ[ί]μως πολ[ι]τευσάμενον, τετ[ι]μημένον καὶ τ[α]ῖς | ἀρίσ-
ταις πάσαις | τ[ι]μαῖς. (*hedera*) Τῆν | δὲ ἀνάστασιν | τοῦ ἀδριάν-
τος | ἐποιήσατο (*hedera*) | Τ(ίτος) Αἴλ(ιος) Οὐαλερ[ι]ανὸς
Δημάρχιος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ.

The Titi Aelii belonged to a family that had received the citizenship from the emperor Antoninus Pius³⁵. T. Aelius Aurelianus Tudeus, who also mentions his *supernomen*, *qui et Alexander*³⁶, was high priest (*archiereus*) of the imperial cult. In the inscription he bears a whole series of honorific titles as *euergetes* of the city. *Boule* and *demos* want to honour him with a statue, but it is his brother, T. Ael(ius) Valerianus Demarchius, who pays for the implementation of this decision. The onomastic data would seem to situate the brothers in the late second century.

Finally there is an Aelius, without *praenomen*, in a fragmentary inscription:

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 206:

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Αἴλ(ιον) Διόφαντον Ἀπολλωνίου
[Ἀπ]ολλωνιάτην καὶ [— —]: Ael(ius) Diophantus (son of) Apollo-
nius [Ap]olloniatēs.

³⁵ B. HOLTHEIDE, *Römische Bürgerrechtspolitik und römische Neubürger in der Provinz Asia (Hochschulsammlung Philosophie Geschichte, 5)*, Freiburg i.Br. 1983, p. 104-107.

³⁶ I. KAJANTO, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 40.1)*, Helsinki 1966.

6. (Marci) Aurelii

- (1) *Sagalassos* V, no. 19 (Pl. 5):
Μήσεν | Αὐρηλίαν Πολεμωνιαίνην Δρακαινιαίνην Ἰάδα, |
γυναῖκα Κουίντου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἰ⁵ Ῥόδωνος, σωφροσύνης |
ἐνεκα καὶ φιλανδρίας | τὴν δὲ ἀνάστασιν τοῦ | ἀδριάντος
ἐποιήσατο | Κουίντα Αὐρ(ηλία) Ῥόδωνις Ἰ¹⁰ ἡ θυγάτηρ.
- (2) *CIG* III 4369; C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 193a:
This inscription is cited in full in section C. Senators: M. Ulpius
Callipianus, the senator who by legate founded the *agon* named
after him (ἀ[γ]ῶνα Καλλιπ[π]ιανεῖον); the text ends with the
mention of the *agonothetes*: ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τὸ α' καὶ τοῦ[τ]ον
τὸν ἀ[γ]ῶνα Κουίντου Αὐρ(ηλίου) Διομηδιανοῦ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου.
- (3) C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 193:
[— — —? Περγα]ῖον καὶ Σαγαλασσ[σέ]λα νεικήσαντα ἐνδόλιως
ἀνδρῶν πυγμὴν Ἰ⁵ ἀγῶνα Ῥοδωνεῖον (*hedera*) | τὸν ἐπιδό-
θέντα ὑπὸ | Κουίντας Αὐρ. Δρακαινιαίνης Ῥοδωνιανῆς
Ῥοιδωνίδος φιλοπάτριδος Ἰ¹⁰ ἐκ χρημάτων ἰδίων αὐ[τ]ῆς,
ἀγωνοθετοῦντος διὰ βίου ΓΑ. Κουίντου Αὐρ. Διομηδιανοῦ |
Ἰ⁵ Ἀλεξάνδρου, τοῦ ἀξι¹⁵ ολογωτάτου ἀνδρὸς | αὐτῆς.
- (4) C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 204; *IGR* III 357:
(On this inscription see also section C. Senators: (Aufidius)
Coresnius Marcellus)
[τὸν] κράτιστον | πρεσβευτὴν | καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Ἰ⁵ Κορέσ-
σιον | Μάρκελλον | ἡ λαμπροτάτη Σαγαλασσισέων πόλις Ἰ¹⁰
τὸν ἴδιον | βουλευτὴν | καὶ εὐεργέτην | ἐγένετο ἀρ¹⁵χῆς τῆς
περὶ | Αὐρ. Διομηδιανὸν Μακεδονιανὸν Ῥόδωνα.
- (5) *Sagalassos* V, no. 12:
[ἡ] πατρίς | [τ]ὸν ἴδιον αὐτῆς αἰώνιον | κτίστην καὶ Ἰ⁵ φιλό-
πατριν | Τίτ(ον) Φλάουιον | Σεουηριανὸν | Νέωνα ἥρωα | ἐκ
τῶν ἰδίων Ἰ¹⁰ αὐτοχρημάτων — *vacat* 13 cm — | ἐγένετο
ἀρχῆς τῆς περὶ Αὐρ(ηλίου) Διομηδιανὸν Μακεδονια¹⁵ νὸν
Ῥόδωνα.

Quinta Aurelia Rhodonis dedicates a statue to her mother, Aurelia Polemoniane Drakainiane Ias, wife of Quintus Aurelius Rhodon (inscription 1 — Pl. 5).

I believe that further members of this family are mentioned in several inscriptions from Sagalassos (nos. 2, 3, 4, 5).

In text 2 a victor in the *pankration* of the *agon Callippianeius* is honoured. The *agonothetes* of this contest was Quintus Aurelius Diomedianus Alexander, who was also *agonothetes* of the *agon Rhodoneius* (text 3). This latter contest was organized and financed by Quinta Aurelia Drakain(i)ane Rhodoniane Rhodonis, while her husband, Quintus Aure-

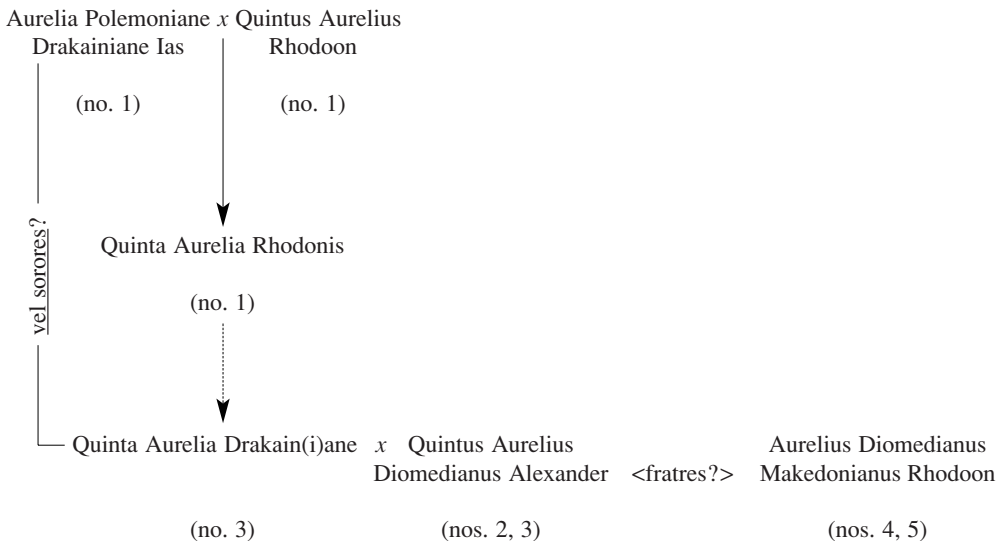
lius Diomedianus Alexander, served as *agonothetes*, and this for life. He is called ἀξιολογώτατος, a man of prestige, a dignitary³⁷.

Two other inscriptions (4, 5) clearly mention another member of this family: Aurelius Diomedianus Macedonianus Rhodon.

The family, then, plainly belonged to the local elite of the first half of the third century A.D. On the basis of the dating of inscription 4 Aurelius Diomedianus Macedonianus Rhodon is to be situated around 220-240³⁸.

The family probably obtained the *civitas Romana* after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of Caracalla. In an inscription found at Sagalassos in 1995 we find a number of Marci Aurelii who likely received their citizenship in the second half of the second century³⁹: M. Aurelius Dionysius (τραγωδὸς ἱερoneϊκῆς παράδοξος⁴⁰) and his brother M. Aurelius Capito, M. Aurelius Metrodorus (κιθαρωδὸς ἱερων[ίκες]).

A stemma of this family of Aurelii might be reconstructed as follows:



³⁷ F. QUASS, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 1993, p. 53 n. 159.

³⁸ For this dating see section C. Senators: (Aufidius) Coresnius Marcellus.

³⁹ *Sagalassos* V, no. 20.

⁴⁰ See also C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 207.

Finally, I must mention, for the sake of completeness, Aur(elius) Me[idi]anus Attalianus, *archiereus* of the emperor's cult:

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 196; *IGR* III 354:
 [Αὐτοκρ]άτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σεουήρῳ [[᾽Αλεξάνδρῳ]]
 Εὐσεβεῖ | Σεβαστῷ κα[ὶ] [[Μαμαίᾳ]] Σεβαστῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Σεβασ-
 τοῦ καὶ | τῷ σύμπαντι οἴκῳ αὐτῶν Αὐρ(ήλιος) Με[ιδι]ανὸς
 Ἀτταλιανὸς | ὁ τάχιον χρηματίσας Ἀτταλιανὸς [.....] | ἀρχιε-
 ρασάμενος τῶν Σεβαστῶν [— —].

Conclusion

Of a given territory's progression towards the *Romanitas*, a general scheme can be drawn, although one must always have an eye for possible geographical and local variants. There are considerable differences in Rome's conquest of West and East. In the Hellenistic East use could be made of existing diplomatic channels, whereas in the West, in the absence of such circuits, brute force was often the rule. Usually the ultimate goal of Romanization was attained in three consecutive stages: conquest, acculturation, transculturation. For ordinary legionary soldiers, their origin is often a barometre of Romanization. In the first generation of conquest in the West these *milites* come from the Mediterranean basin. After 20 to 25 years' service they are discharged; but instead of returning to their place of origin they marry native women and settle in the vicinity of their garrison — the stage of acculturation. In a following generation Rome recruits soldiers locally, a sure sign of successful Romanization.

In areas with a Hellenistic *polis*-tradition, such as Sagalassos, one of the prerequisites of *Romanitas*, namely *paideia*, was already present in the local elite. The conqueror of Galatia, Marcus Lollius, is applauded by the elite of Sagalassos as their *patronus*⁴¹. This municipal upper class was therefore receptive to the new Roman order.

It is rather unusual to be so well informed about the local elite of a Roman *polis* of the Principate as we are about Roman Sagalassos. All the known members of the Romanized upper class bear an imperial *nomen gentilicium*, and sometimes *praenomen* as well: Tiberii Claudii, Titi Flavii, Marci Ulprii, Publii Aelii, Titi Aelii, Marci Aurelii. Of Caii Iulii no trace has hitherto been found at Sagalassos. M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus, the influential *patronus* of the Flavii family that built the

⁴¹ See *Sagalassos* V, no. 1.

library, and his son (M.) Iulius Maximianus, were probably descendants of newly enfranchised citizens of the first hour. But it cannot be established whether these Iulii were natives of Sagalassos or immigrants. For the sake of completeness we must also mention here Publius Iulius Diogenianus, son of Publius Iulius Suncleticus, who is honoured as *agoranomos* (CIG III 4373b). He is manifestly not a citizen from that earliest period of Augustus. As *agoranomos* he must have belonged to the elite⁴². This official was charged with the overall supervision of the market and sometimes paid for grain out his own pocket to guarantee sufficient provisions. The brief period under Augustus in which Sagalassos was integrated in the new Roman province of Galatia by Marcus Lollius is perhaps to be seen as a transition. But from Tiberius/Claudius the first members of the local loyal elite are rewarded with the *civitas Romana*.

The stemmas of certain leading families from the Julio-Claudian dynasty to the middle of the third century provide a nice illustration of the social advancement of the local elite. Numerous testimonia are available to point up Rome's ideology and the local elite's perception thereof. The mechanisms of the Romanization process, the ethos of the upper classes can be traced.

The three criteria Rome obliged all *honestiores* (*decuriones*, *boulevardai*, knights and senators) to meet, i.e. wealth (*facultates*), *paideia*, *euergesia* — *munificentia*, were all fulfilled by the local elite of Sagalassos.

These three prerequisites were so intensely interwoven that we can focus here on the *euergesia* as an expression of loyalty to the emperor and his representative, the provincial governor, and to one's own community, the *polis* of Sagalassos. A phenomenon inherently linked to the Roman social articulation was the system of patronage, the relationship *patronus* — *cliens*. Social relations, and social promotion in particular, depended largely on the intercession of influential *patroni*. Other important factors of social advancement were *amicitia*-relations and marriage⁴³.

To conclude this section, let us summarize these two phenomena, viz. the *euergesia* as an expression of loyalty but also of self-glorification of the benefactors, and the social relations of the local elite of Sagalassos.

The first precondition for integration in the *Romanitas* and for social advancement was possession of the Roman citizenship. Of some

⁴² F. QUASS, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 260.

⁴³ H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales*.

autochthonous families we can identify the first *cives Romani* and for some of these we can also trace their *patroni* who secured the citizenship for them.

- Tib. Claudius Dareius was probably a new citizen; he was presumably the son of Ias and Kallikles⁴⁴.
- Tib. Claudius Quirina Neon filius Eilagoou⁴⁵ was surely a new citizen and may well be the first *civis Romanus* of Sagalassos we know with certainty.
- T. F(lavius) Quirina Neon filius Attalou⁴⁶ was the first in the family of the founder of the library to become a citizen. The influential M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus, a Roman knight and *iuridicus Alexandreiae*, one of the highest equestrian offices, was the *patronus* of the family of the T. Flavii. Presumably it was he who procured the *civitas Romana* for T. Flavius Neon and the *ordo equester* for Neon's son, T. Flavius Attalianus Quadratus (see section B: Equestrians). So it is not surprising to find an inscription honouring him as patron in the family gallery along the library wall. This *patronus*–relationship was sealed with the marriage of the patron's son, (M.) Iulius Maximianus, *procurator Augustorum* (see section B: Equestrians), to the daughter of T. Flavius Neon, viz. Flavia Severa. T. Flavius Neon himself was married to the *civis Romana* Claudia Severa, who belonged to the prominent family of the Tiberii Claudii.
- T. Flavius Collega and his wife, Flavia Longilla, were probably enfranchised by the emperor Vespasian. Presumably their patron was Cn. Pompeius Collega, governor of Galatia/Cappadocia ca. a. 73/74–77/78, who ensured their Roman citizenship.
- P. Aelius Akulas, son of Antiochos etc., and his spouse, P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe, daughter of Seleukos etc., were clearly new citizens of Hadrian. Their *patronus* is, however, unknown.
- P. Aelius Mettius Philippus was married to P. Aelia Aruntia, daughter of P. Aelius Akulas and P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe. He too was a new citizen of Hadrian and probably enjoyed the patronage of Mettius Modestus, governor of Lycia and Pamphylia, a. 130/133. In this family of Publii Aelii we see once again that new citizens intermarry.

Having achieved social promotion through the intercession of *patroni*, the native elite of Sagalassos, once integrated in the *Romanitas*, would apply the *patronus*–*cliens* relationship to the local social structure. They themselves now became the *patroni*. Thus Tib. Claudius Quirina Neon,

⁴⁴ Cf. stemma; see H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 112.

⁴⁵ Cf. stemma; see also above, p. 108.

⁴⁶ Cf. stemma; see also above, p. 109–110.

filius Eilagoou and therefore a new citizen, is honoured by Tib. Claudius Kratoon who calls him his *patronus* (πάτρωνα). And Tib. Claudius Aigyptos honours as his patron and benefactor (τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην) Tib. Claudius, son of Tib. Claudius Kallikles, Quirina Regulus. Was Tib. Claudius Aigyptos his freedman?

Loyalty to the emperor and *euergesia* were closely linked. A first expression of loyalty is found in honorific inscriptions and statues set up by the elite for the emperor or his representative, the provincial governor (e.g. Tib. Claudius Dareius and his sons: to Nero, Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς; Claudia Severa: monument honouring Trajan; Tib. Claudius Piso and his brother Varus: to Vespasian, see section B: Equestrians; Aurelius Me[idi]janus Attalianus: *domus imperatoria* — Severan dynasty; to provincial governors: Marcus Lollius, Sex. Iulius Frontinus⁴⁷; see section C. Senators: (Aufidius) Coresnius Marcellus). Exceptionally one finds the still unromanized native elite honouring the emperor with a statue. Thus Attalos, son of Neon and grandson of Antiochos (see stemma) erected a statue of the emperor Hadrian⁴⁸. Was this perhaps a way of attracting imperial attention and so obtain the Roman citizenship?

Such loyalty to the emperor and the *domus imperatoria* culminated in the appointment to local high priest of the imperial cult: *archiereus*. This *archiereus* organized, and above all financed, the cult of the emperor and the attendant festivities. The office was reserved for the most prosperous of the local elite. Their financial input was compensated by the great social prestige the *archiereus* enjoyed at Sagalassos, as elsewhere in the Eastern provinces⁴⁹. This is indeed apparent from the inscriptions of known *archiereis* in Sagalassos:

- T. F(lavius) Quirina Neon filius Attalou: new citizen, probably of Vespasian, is honoured by the *boule* and *demos* as ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν πρῶτον — *archiereus Augustorum primus*, i.e. the first high priest of the imperial cult at Sagalassos. He proudly calls himself *philokaesar*. In addition, he was *agonothetes* for life. He was the progenitor of the family that built the library. He clearly belonged to the rich upper class of Sagalassos.
- Tib. Claudius Tib. Claudii Ilagoou filius Quirina Piso: he was an *archiereus* who rose to the *ordo equester*. His social prestige and *euergesia* are discussed below (see section B: Equestrians no. 1).

⁴⁷ *Sagalassos* V, nos. 1, 9.

⁴⁸ C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 215; *IGR* III 347.

⁴⁹ L. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 256.

- T. Flavius Collega: with his wife, Flavia Longilla, and other members of the family, he financed the restoration and enlargement of the temple of Apollo Klarios in the early second century. The inscription specifies that this was done while T. Flavius Collega was *archiereus* (ἐν χρόνῳ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης τοῦ Κολλήγα). Accordingly the temple is dedicated not only to Apollo Klarios and the πάτρις, but also to the Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς.
- P. Aelius Akulas: a new citizen of Hadrian, financed out of his own pocket an important part of the *macellum* — the food market of Sagalassos. He does not fail to mention that he was *archiereus* (ἀρχιερασάμενος τῶν Σεβαστῶν). A striking expression of the ideology and ethos of this wealthy Romanized elite is the fact that the *archiereus* P. Aelius Akulas dedicated the *macellum*, a secular building, in honour of the emperor's victory — probably Marcus Aurelius' defeat of the Parthians on 12 October 166 (ὕπὲρ νείκης τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος etc.). Thus the secular *macellum* takes on a religious and imperial dimension.
- P. Ael(ius) Quintus Cl(audius) Philippianus Varus: was first *agonothetes* of the Klareia and Vareia festivities. But as *archiereus* (ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ) he gave a great *munus gladiatorium* lasting 4 full days, with five gladiator pairs 'performing' each day. It was a spectacular but cruel event as the fighting was with sharp weapons to the death.
- T. Aelius Aurelianus Tudeus, qui et Alexander: is honoured by the *boule* and *demos* as *archiereus* (ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν) with a statue. Concrete items of his *euergesia* are not specified in the inscription, but in view of the grandiose titles the *archiereus* bears his merits must have been considerable.
- Aur(elius) Me[idi]anus Attalianus: dedicates as *archiereus* (ἀρχιερασάμενος τῶν Σεβαστῶν) an inscription in honour of Severus Alexander (a. 222-235) and his mother Iulia Avita Mamaea, and of the entire *domus imperatoria*.

This list of the *archiereis* of Sagalassos demonstrates the enormous *euergesia* and the social prestige of this class. What strikes most is their building activity⁵⁰: the temple of Apollo Klarios, the *macellum*. To

⁵⁰ *Sagalassos* IV, no. 6.1: the original text of a milestone — to be dated 25 December 333 — 27 May 337 — refers to Sagalassos in ll. 6-11: [[ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ λαμπρά]] | καὶ ἔνδοξος β' νεφεκ[ό]ρος Σαγαλασσέων πό[λις] | πρώτη τῆς Πισιδί[ας] | φίλη καὶ σύμμα[χ]ος | Ῥωμαίων. Sagalassos is called «twice *neokoros*» (temple warden), a title (see also n. 54) which normally indicated the presence of a provincial imperial temple. The same title also occurs on another milestone found within the territory of the city and dated to the reign of Diocletian (D. FRENCH, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Fasc. 2: *An Interim Catalogue of Milestones* [British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 9 — *British Archaeological Reports International Series* 392], Oxford 1988, p. 104 no. 273). Both texts show that Sagalassos possessed two official temples for the

which we may add the construction of the library by T. Flavius Severianus Neon, the grandson of the first *archiereus*, T. Flavius Neon. Furthermore, Tib. Claudius Regulus is mentioned as κτίστης, builder or restorer of a building. It is therefore evident that the local elite concerned itself with the construction policy and urbanization of Sagalassos, on which they spend enormous sums.

The *agones*, festivities and sports events, were a focal point of social life. The *agonothesia* was a liturgy of Hellenistic tradition. The funds of the *polis* were insufficient for the organization of these *agones* and so the local elite shouldered the financial burden. These *agones* flourished at Sagalassos during the Principate. However, a distinction should be drawn between already existing *agones* and those newly introduced under the Principate⁵¹.

The *agonothetes* often specified that he paid for the *agones* himself (ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων); the duration of this funding was also frequently indicated (διὰ βίου — for life; δι' αἰῶνος — *in perpetuum*, probably involving a testamentary bequest: see T. Flavius Neon and his grandson T. Flavius Severianus Neon).

Some *agones* were founded during the Principate by prominent families. Thus I presume that the revived Klareia and Vareia *agones* were first organized by Tib. Claudius Piso and his brother Varus on the occasion of the dedication of the restored temple of Apollo Klarios by the family of T. Flavius Collega (see section B: Equestrians no. 1). P. Aelius Quintus Cl(audius) Philippianus Varus was *agonothetes* of the Klareia and Vareia.

The *agon Rhodoneius* was founded and entirely funded by Quinta Aurelia Drakain(i)ane Rhodoniane Rhodonis and her husband, Quintus Aurelius Diomedianus Alexander, was *agonothetes* for life of these new festivities (see Aurelii). The same man was *agonothetes* of the *agon Cal-*

imperial cult and the imperial family, and these can be identified as the rebuilt temple of Apollo Klarios (Sagalassos IV, no. 1.1) and the temple which was eventually dedicated to Antoninus Pius (M. WAELKENS, *Sagalassos. History and Archaeology*, in *Sagalassos I. First general Report on the Survey (1986–1989) and Excavations (1990–1991)* [Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 5], Leuven 1993, p. 46).

⁵¹ For the economic, social and cultural significance of the *agones* and their dispersion in Pamphylia and Pisidia, see H. BRANDT, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidiens im Altertum (Asia Minor Studien, 7)*, Bonn 1992, p. 146–148; *Sagalassos IV*, no. 5: «During the third century A.D. the cities founded new agonistic festivals to mark the accession of new emperors or imperial victories. As a result they became a way of expressing their loyalty to the emperors and at the same time satisfied the cities' own

lippianeius, newly founded by the *consularis* M. Ulpius Callippianus (see section C: Senators). Only once do we find at Sagalassos an *agonothetes* belonging to the local but not yet Romanized elite: Γβαῖμος⁵² was priest of Apollo Klarios and *agonothetes* of the Klareia, the Rhodoneia and the Vareia.

The *boule* and the *demos*, sometimes also the *gerousia*⁵³, honoured their members and the family, *euergetai*, with grandiose titles: υἱὸς πόλεως, μήτηρ πόλεως, θυγάτηρ πόλεως, πανάρετος, φιλόπατρις, κτίστης, etc. The *euergetai* were ambitious (φιλόδοξος). Fame, social prestige, influence and power were the reward for their *euergesia*.

This picture of the elite of Sagalassos shows that the qualifications this upper class attached to their *polis* were not empty slogans: ἡ Σαγαλασσέων πόλις, πρώτη τῆς Πισιδίας, φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων⁵⁴. The *Romanitas* could here thrive on the infrastructure of a Hellenistic *polis* and was a success.

B. THE EQUESTRIANS

For the *equites Romani* a strict hierarchical career scheme was elaborated under the Principate, on the analogy of the Republican *cursus honorum* of the senatorial order⁵⁵.

The *ordo equester* could be attained from two wholly different social strata. The *centuriones*, the non-commissioned officers of the legion, could become, after long service (often 25 to 30 years), *primus pilus*. As a reward for their prolonged tour of duty they were admitted to the equestrian order; some of this small group could proceed to the higher prefectures (see scheme). A second group, without tenured appointment like the *centuriones*, was formed by knights recruited from the local

pride and economic needs. So the *agones* were sometimes closely associated with the imperial cult»; L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* XI-XII, Paris 1960, p. 353; S. MITCHELL, *Three Pisidian Cities, Anatolian Cities* 44 (1994), p. 140.

⁵² C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 194.

⁵³ For the relationship between *boule*, *demos*, and *gerousia*, see *Sagalassos* IV, no. 1.1.

⁵⁴ E. COLLAS-HEDDELAND, *Le culte impérial dans la compétition des titres sous le Haut-Empire: une lettre d'Antonin aux Éphésiens*, REG 108 (1995), p. 410-429; see also n. 50 above.

⁵⁵ H. DEVIJVER, *Les milices équestres et la hiérarchie militaire*, in Y. LE BOHEC (ed.), *La hiérarchie (Rangordnung) de l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris 1995, p. 175-180.

municipal elite. These men held the classical *militiae equestres*, as commanders of units of *auxilia* or as staff officer in a legion. After each appointment, which averaged two to three years, these officers reverted to civilian status. As a result of the pyramidal structure of the system, which implied a shortage of positions in the next grade, many had to terminate their career after two or three posts. However, they could transfer to the civilian administration as *procurator*. Civilians too could enter the *procuratela* directly.

Since no *centuriones*–*primipilares*, true *virii militares*, from Sagalassos are hitherto attested, we will focus our attention on the *equites* from the municipal elite, for whom the *militiae equestres* were reserved. From Claudius these *militiae* developed into a tight, hierarchically structured promotion system. When one looks at the number of posts per grade, one sees that less than 4% of those that started in the *militia prima* could hope to attain the *militia quarta*, simply because of the progressive decrease of the number of appointments available for each grade. In addition, a twofold selection was built into the system itself so to speak: first one had to prove one could command an infantry unit, before one could receive the command of a tactically more important cavalry unit. And both posts contained yet another built-in selection: one was first given a unit of 500 men, thereafter one of 1000 men, whether infantry or cavalry.

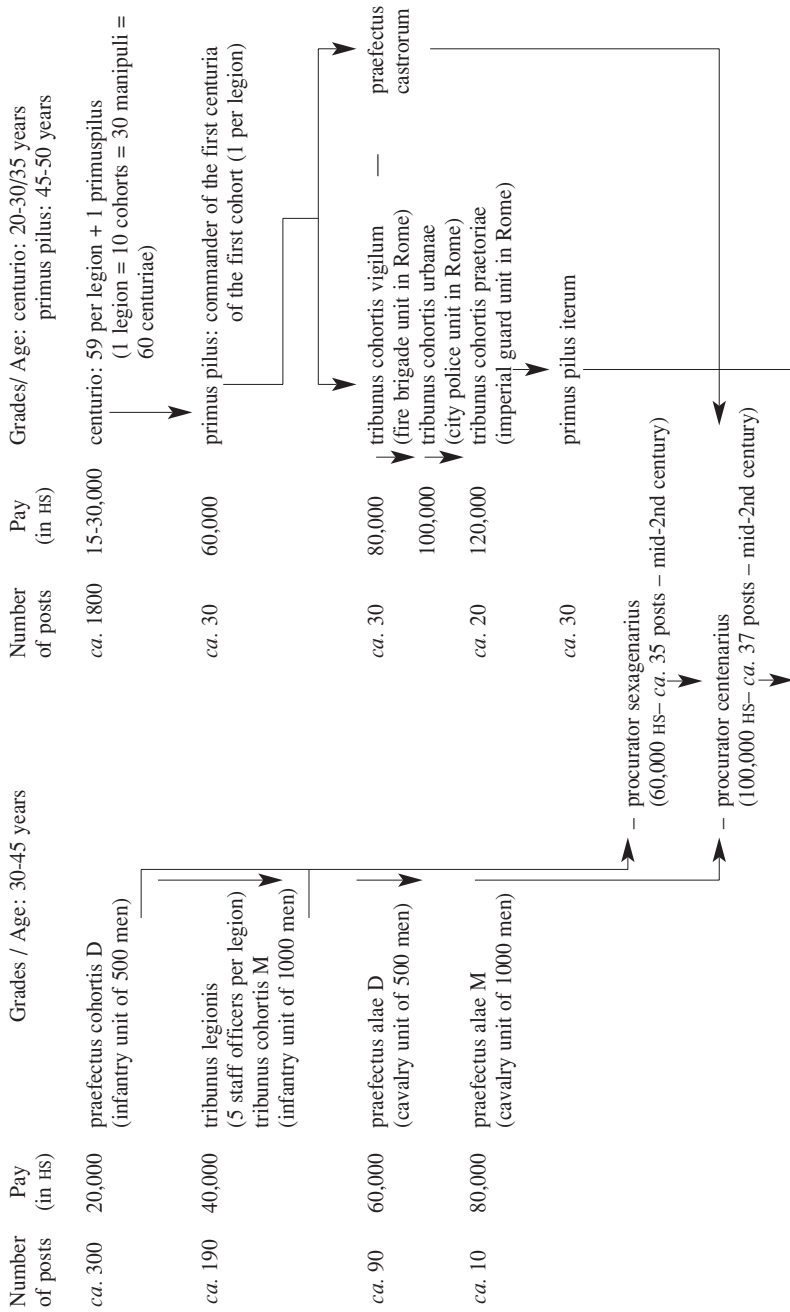
The recruiting-ground for the *militiae equestres* was the local municipal elite. The total number of knights is estimated at a few ten-thousands⁵⁶. Considering that in the period 140-160 A.D. this body of equestrians had the following posts to divide among them: 590 in the *militiae equestres* and 110 *procuratela* and *praefecturae* (taken together), one notes a patent disproportion between the number of theoretical candidates and the number of available posts⁵⁷. It is evident that the vast majority of the equestrians would never leave their *municipium-polis* to hold *militiae equestres* and/or *procuratela*/*praefecturae*. Thus many knights could only dream of becoming an equestrian officer or procurator in the service of the emperor.

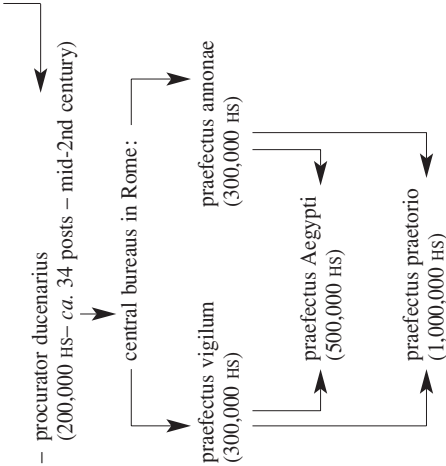
And often it remained a dream, as we learn from the *Oneirocriticon* of Artemidoros of Daldis. In the second half of the second century this author wrote a book on the interpretation of dreams. The oneirocritic

⁵⁶ See H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales*.

⁵⁷ See H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales*.

EQUESTRIAN CAREER SCHEME





gave answers to real questions posed by the people of his day. The questions and answers concerning dreams reflect the social reality in Asia Minor, and in the Roman Empire in general, making the *Oneirocriticon* an important source for social history. For social advancement or demotion Artemidoros uses precisely the picture of the social ladder: ἀνάβασις and κατάβασις.

In one passage (IV 28) the author speaks of the dream of an *eques Romanus* who petitioned the emperor for an appointment in the *militiae equestres*: ἵππικὸς ἀνὴρ στρατείαν αἰτιῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. He dreams that upon leaving his house, having descended two steps, the person who interceded on his behalf before the emperor gave him an olive wreath. This was the symbol of the knights because they wore it at their processions in Rome. This dream put him in an optimistic mood, so that his disappointment was all the greater when his request was denied by the emperor. Artemidoros explains that the dream was not realized because the dreamer, upon leaving his house, *descended* two steps instead of climbing them. In other words, ascending stairs is a symbol of social promotion, descending them the opposite⁵⁸.

For Sagalassos we at present know seven *equites Romani*: five of them held one or more posts in the *militiae equestres*, two of the five becoming *procurator* after their *militiae*. Of two *equites* only their *procuratela*e are known.

We will first look at the individual careers, in the sequence *militiae equestres* — *procuratela*e, and then propose a more general picture.

1. Tib. Claudius Tib. Claudii Ilagoou filius Quirina Piso

- (1) *Sagalassos* V, no. 2 (inscription in honour of Vespasian):
 Τίτον Φλάριον | Οὐέσπασιανὸν Σείβαστον Κλαύδοι |
 Πείσων καὶ Οὐᾶρος | κατὰ διαθηκῶν Τιβερίλου Κλαυδίου
 Ἰλαγίου τοῦ | [πατρός — — ?].
- (2) *Sagalassos* V, no. 3 *ad* H. DEVIJVER — M. WAELEKENS, *Roman Inscriptions from the Upper Agora at Sagalassos*, in *Sagalassos* III (*Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae* 7), Leuven 1995, no. 7, *ad* C. LANKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 217 (inscription in honour of Attalos):
 ὁ δῆμος | Ἀτταλὸν Νέωνος Δημητρίου | πάλῃ νεικῆσαντα
 Κλάρεια Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Κλαυδίου Ἰλαγίου υἱοῦ
 Κυρεῖνα Πείσωνος Κυρεῖ[να] | [— — —].

⁵⁸ See H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales*.

- (3) *Sagalassos* V, no. 4 (inscription in honour of Arnestes) (Pl. 6):
 ὁ δῆμος | Ἀρνέστην Ἀδμωνος | πάλῃ νεικήσαντα Κλάλρεια
 τὸ β' Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Κλαυδίου Ἰλαγού υἱοῦ | Κυρεῖνα
 Πείσωνος ἀρχιεῖε(sic)ως καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων ὑπὸ
 τὸ αὐτὸ πρώτου | τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀγωνοθέτου |¹⁰ δὲ καὶ τῶν
 εἰσηγηθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Κλαρείων ἀγώνων, ἐπάρχου τεχ-
 νειτῶν, ἐπάρχου | σπείρης γ' Βρακαυγυστανῶν, | χει-
 λιάρχου λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθι¹⁵ κῆς, ἐπάρχου εἴλης ζ' Φρυγῶν,
 | τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῖς ἄλλοις | ἀγωνίσμασιν τῇ πάλῃ δὲ τὸν |
 ἀνδριάντα ἀνατίθεντος ἐκ τῶν | [ἰ]δίων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
- (4) *Sagalassos* V, no. 5 (inscription in honour of Arnestes):
 Same text as the previous inscription except for ll. 3-4: πάλῃ
 νεικήσαντα Κλάλρεια — *vac.* — Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου | etc.; ll.
 17 & 18: ἀνιστάντος.
- (5) *Sagalassos* V, no. 6 *ad Sagalassos* IV, no. 5 (inscription in
 honour of Tib. Claudius Piso):
 [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος (?) | Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον | Κλαυδίου
 Ἰλαγού υἱὸν | Κυρεῖνα Πείσωνα, ἀρχιερέα |⁵ καὶ
 ἀγωνοθ[έτην] ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ί]ων | [ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτ]ὸ πρώτων τῶν ἀπ'
 α[ἰ]ῶνος ἀγων[ο]θέτην δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰση[γ]ηθέν[τ]ων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
 Κλαρείων ἀ[γ]ώνων, ἐπαρχον τεχνειτῶν, ἐπαρ[χ]ον¹⁰ [χον]
 σπείρης γ' Βρακάτης, χειλ[ί]α[ρ]χον λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς,
 ἐπαρχον εἴλης ζ' Φρυγῶν, τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας
 τῆς | πάλῃς τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀνατί¹⁵ θεντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς
 τὸν αἰῶνα.

Tib. Claudius Piso and his brother Varus honour the emperor Vespasian following the stipulations of their father's last will, Tib. Claudius Ilagoas (1). The inscription is fragmentary so that the full context cannot be reconstructed. Once again this family's loyalty towards the *domus imperatoria* is made clear.

A second text (2) is again a damaged inscription, yet the name of Tib. Claudius Piso can be read. It is an honorific inscription set up by the *demos* for Attalos son of Neon, grandson of Demetrios, an athlete who was victorious in a wrestling match during the *Klareia*, *agones* organized by Tib. Claudius Piso.

Texts (3) and (4) are again honorific inscriptions of the *demos*, this time for the athlete Arnestes son of Admon, who apparently won twice at wrestling during *Klareia* organized by Tib. Claudius Piso.

It is noteworthy that inscriptions (3 — Pl. 6) and (4), and probably (2) as well, were set up to honour the victorious athletes Attalos and Arnestes but devote a mere two lines to each of them. Thus this concise homage to the athletes is no more than a pretext to point up the career

and benefactions of Tib. Claudius Piso (text 3: Arnestes 2 lines, Piso 16 lines [Pl. 6]; no. 4: Arnestes 2 lines, Piso 15 lines).

The self-glorification of senators and equestrians in honorific inscriptions is a well-known phenomenon⁵⁹. Dedicators of such inscriptions, e.g. to the emperor, do not hesitate to present themselves *in extenso* by listing their complete *cursus honorum*.

Thus are we informed of the local offices and equestrian career of Tib. Claudius Piso, e.g. in text (5), an inscription honouring Piso himself.

Tib. Claudius Piso, son of a Roman citizen Tib. Claudius Ilagoas, and registered in the *tribus Quirina*, was at Sagalassos *archiereus* of the imperial cult and as *agonothetes* he paid for the organization of games. He was also the first *agonothetes in perpetuum* of the *agones Klareia*. He probably held this office after his *militiae* under the Flavian dynasty, while the organization of these *Klareia* are presumably linked to the consecration of the restored temple of Apollo Klarios about 103/104 A.D.⁶⁰ He also paid for the images and statues of the victors in the wrestling contests. He had therefore produced clear proof of his *euergesia* and loyalty towards the *domus imperatoria* as *archiereus*. But he also showed his fidelity by serving the emperor as equestrian officer.

His first equestrian office was the *praefectura fabrum* (ἐπαρχος τεχνειτῶν), which strictly speaking did not form part of the hierarchical career within the *militiae equestres*. Such a prefect was a kind of orderly, a liaison officer attached to the provincial governor. Thanks to his contacts with this prominent senator the *praefectus fabrum* could often proceed to a career in the *militiae equestres*⁶¹.

Tib. Claudius Piso then held the classical *tres militiae*:

(a) ἐπαρχος σπείρης γ' Βρακαυγουστανῶν (3, 4) / Βρακάτης (5): *praefectus cohortis III Bracaraugustanorum* / *Bracarum*. The *Bracari* were the inhabitants of Bracara, the capital of Spanish Gallaecia. The city was also called Bracara Augusta, and its residents *Bracaraugustani* or *Augustani*. In the literary sources we find as Greek equiv-

⁵⁹ W. ECK, *Statuendedikanten und Selbstdarstellung in römischen Städten, in L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay* (Collection Latomus, 226), Brussels 1994, p. 650-662; ID., «*Tituli honorarii*», *curriculum vitae und Selbstdarstellung in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, in H. SOLIN – O. SALOMIES – U.-M. LIERTZ (eds.), *Acta Colloquii epigraphici Latinielsingiae* 3.-6. Sept. 1991 *habiti* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 105), Helsinki 1995, p. 211-237.

⁶⁰ See section A Local elite: T. Flavius Collega.

⁶¹ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 55), p. 175-180.

alents: Βράκαρες — Βρακάριοι⁶². In two recent studies I have examined the Greek nomenclature in the inscriptions and papyri⁶³: σπείρης Βρακαραυγουστανῶν⁶⁴, Βρακατῶν, Βρακάτης, Βρακάρου, Βρακῶν, all are Greek references to this unit. Piso did his *militia prima* in this cohort in Iudaea/Syria Palaestina⁶⁵.

(b) χειλίαρχος λεγεῶνος δ' Σκυθικῆς (3, 4, 5): *tribunus militum legionis IIII Scythicae (militia secunda)*. In a recent, detailed study I have dealt with the commanders and officers of this legion⁶⁶. Tib. Claudius Piso must now be added to the comprehensive prosopography of the *tribuni angusticlavii legionis IIII Scythicae*. This legion was stationed at Zeugma / Seleukeia ad Euphraten in Syria.

(c) ἑπαρχος εἰλης ζ' Φρυγῶν (3, 4, 5): *praefectus alae VII Phrygum (militia tertia)*. The *ala VII Phrygum* was also stationed in Syria (*PME* I, A182, C116, C143, C168, H3, I55, I123; *PME* II N6, V30, Inc. 86; *PME* V Suppl. II, Inc. 152ter).

The career of this equestrian officer from Sagalassos is typical for an *Orientalis*. He held all his *militiae* in Eastern, Greek-speaking provinces: Iudaea — Syria — Syria⁶⁷.

2. T. F(lavius) Attalianus Quadratus

H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, no. 2.2 (*AE* 1993, 1556):

ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ] ὁ δῆμος | Τ(ίτον) F(λάουιον) Ἀτταλιανὸν
Κο[υ]αδράτον, ἑπαρχὸν σπείρης β' | Θρακῶν, χειλίαρχον
λεγεῶνος γ' Γαλλικῆς, πανάρετον, ἥρωα.
PME V Suppl. II, F42 bis.

T. F(lavius) Attalianus Quadratus was the son of a new citizen, T. Flavius Attalou filius Quirina Neon (see stemma). He was the first member of the family to attain the status of *eques Romanus*.

⁶² H. DEVIJVER, *A New Papyrus (P. Egypt. Mus. Inv. s.R. 3055) and the Equestrian Officers from Roman Egypt*, *AncSoc* 25 (1994), p. 237.

⁶³ H. DEVIJVER, *A New Roman Auxiliary Cohort in Egypt? P. Egypt. Mus. Inv. s.R. 3055*, *ZPE* 104 (1994), p. 69-72 + *AncSoc* 25 (1994), p. 233-248.

⁶⁴ See also below, *Equestrians* no. 5, p. 138-139.

⁶⁵ H. DEVIJVER, *AncSoc* 25 (1994), p. 233-248.

⁶⁶ *Commanders and Officers of Legio IIII Scythica*, in D. KENNEDY (ed.), *Zeugma Archaeological Project, Report on the Preliminary Season (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement)*, Ann Arbor 1997 (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ H. DEVIJVER, *Equestrian Officers from the East*, in P. FREEMAN – D. KENNEDY (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East (British Institute of Archaeology Monograph No. 8 — BAR International Series, 297)*, Oxford 1986, p. 220-225.

His membership of the *ordo equester* is evident from his mention of two equestrian *militiae*: he was *praefectus cohortis* and *tribunus legionis*. He does not appear to have held the third rank, the *praefectura alae*. Possible explanations herefor may be the shortage of available posts⁶⁸, or a lack of further military ambition on the part of the candidate⁶⁹, or an early death (ἥρῳα).

His first post was the *praefectura cohortis II Thracum* — ἑπαρχος σπείρης β' Θρακῶν. This *cohors quingenaria* may be the unit that was stationed in Iudaea, at least until the year 86 (*CIL* XVI 33; *PME* I, C161). Later the cohort was transferred to Egypt, certainly before 24 September 105, and remained in that province until the end of the fourth century (*AE* 1968, 513)⁷⁰.

He held his second *militia* as a legionary staff officer: *tribunus legionis III Gallicae* — χειλιάρχος λεγεῶνος γ' Γαλλικῆς. From the reign of Vespasian, surely from the year 75, *legio III Gallica* was stationed in Syria⁷¹.

This equestrian officer from Sagalassos did not leave the Eastern sector of the Roman Empire.

3. T. Fl(avius) Valerianus Papiria Alexander

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 214; *AE* 1893, 54; *IGR* III 359; I have re-checked the text, which is now to be read as follows:

ἡ βου[λῆ] | καὶ ὁ δῆ[μ]ος | ----¹⁵ ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- | T(ίτου)
Φλ(αυίου) Οὐαί¹⁰ | λερῖανο[ῦ] | Παπειρία | Ἀλεξάνδρου,
ἐπ[άρ]χου | χόρ[15] | τῆς τετά[ρ]της Γάλλιον δ', σωφροσύνης |
ἐνεκεν¹²⁰ καὶ [εὐνοίας] | τὴν δὲ ἀν[14]στασιν τοῦ | ἀνδριάντος |
ἐπ[οιή]σατο¹²⁵ ---- | ---- | ---- | ---- |.

PME I, IV, *Suppl.* I, F81.

As his full name shows, T. Fl(avius) Valerianus Alexander was registered in the *tribus Papiria*. This is the only certain attestation of this tribe in Sagalassos⁷². The *tribus Quirina*, adopted from the emperors by new citizens (Claudii, Flavii), is frequently attested in Sagalassos. The *Quirina* may have been the normal tribe for the Roman citizens of the city. An inscription recently discovered in Bulgaria also points in this

⁶⁸ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 277-278.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ M.M. ROXAN, *Roman Military Diplomas 1954-1977*, London 1978, no. 9.

⁷¹ *RE* XII (1925), col. 1363.

⁷² The tribe may possibly also appear in C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 207: [M]ᾱρκον Αὐρήλιον Παπ(ίριον) (?) Διονύσιον.

direction. The new testimonium comes from Ratiaria, Moesia; it reads: *L. Antonius* | *L.f. Quir(ina) Vallens Sal[g]alasso*⁷³. Susini takes him to be a soldier or officer who served in Moesia.

The equestrian officer we are dealing with here had earned the gratitude of his *polis*: *boule* and *demos* honour him with a statue. T. Fl(avius) Valerianus Alexander held only the *militia prima* as ἑπ[αρ]χος χόρτης τετά[ρ]της Γάλλον — *praefectus cohortis IIII Gallorum*. In the inscription the number 4 is repeated after Γάλλον: δ', i.e. τετράκις, *vice quarta*⁷⁴. It is not possible to determine which *cohors IIII Gallorum* this officer commanded. Since the Romans, when levying troops (*dilectus*) in a given territory or from a given tribe, always started to number from I, it is possible to encounter different cohorts with the same ethnic and number. Thus at least three *cohortes IIII Gallorum* are attested: in Raetia, in Mauretania Tingitana and in Britannia⁷⁵.

4. M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus

H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108 no. 2.7 (AE 1993, 1561) (Pl. 7):
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Μ(ᾱρκον) Ἰ(ούλιον) Σάνκτον Μαξιμίνον,
 ἑπαρ(χον) σπείρης, χειλί(αρχον) λεγ(εῶνος) κβ' | Διοτεριανῆς,
 ἑπαρ(χον) ἄλης Γαιτουλῶν, ἐπίτροπον Σεβ(αστοῦ), | δικαιοδότην
 Ἀλεξανδρείας, πανάρετον.
PME V, Suppl. II, I 118bis.

The career of M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus has already been discussed in our edition of the inscriptions from the library⁷⁶. I repeat here the main lines:

This knight held the classical *tres militiae*:

(a) ἑπαρ(χος) σπείρης — *praefectus cohortis*. Note that the name of the unit he commanded is not specified. This omission was quite common under the Julio-Claudian dynasty⁷⁷, but in the Flavian period one normally expects to read the name of the *cohors*. Did the mason forget to cut the name? Or was the cohort disbanded at the time the inscription was set up? Whatever the case, it is not possible to determine in which province Maximinus did his *militia prima*.

⁷³ G. SUSINI, *Di uno scriba ratiariense e della tribù di Sagalassus*, *Epigraphica* 57 (1995), p. 279-282.

⁷⁴ *PME I*, A117, D35; *PME V, Suppl. II*, F49a; and F. BERARD, *Gallia* 52 (1995), p. 347-358.

⁷⁵ M.M. ROXAN, *Roman Military Diplomas 1985-1993*, London 1994, no. 359.

⁷⁶ H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108 no. 2.7, p. 110-111 no. 3.7.

⁷⁷ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 17-18.

(b) χειλί(αρχος) λεγ(εῶνος) κβ´ Δηιοτεριανῆς — *tribunus legionis XXII Deiotariana*: he held his *militia secunda* in Egypt. This legion is last attested there in 119. Some hold that the legion was annihilated in Iudaea during the revolt of Bar Kochba around 132⁷⁸.

(c) ἑπαρχος ἄλης Γαιτουλῶν — *praefectus alae Gaetulorum*: this *ala* was recruited among the Gaetuli, who lived in North Africa (Libya interior). The *ala Gaetulorum veterana* fought in Vespasian's *bellum Iudaicum* (a. 69-79, *CIL* V 7007) and was certainly stationed in Iudaea in the year 86 (*CIL* XVI 33).

After his *militia tertia* M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus became *procurator*. Which *procuratela* he held and under which emperor cannot be determined from the abbreviated formulation of the inscription: ἐπίτροπος Σεβ(αστοῦ) — *procurator Augusti*. Presumably he served under Domitian (a. 81-96), the omission of the emperor's name being due to the *damnatio memoriae* (after 96). He concluded his career as δικαιοδότης Ἀλεξανδρείας — *iuridicus Alexandriae (ad Aegyptum)*, a top-level post in the equestrian *cursus* as second in command in the imperial crown colony that was Egypt: in the absence of the *praefectus Aegypti* the *iuridicus* acted as governor.

As already noted above, he was the influential *patronus* of the T. Flavii, the family that built the library at Sagalassos.

5. [— —]

Sagalassos V, no. 21 (Pl. 8):

[— —] | ἑπαρχον τεχνειτῶν, | ἑπαρχον σπείρης Βρακακαυ-
γουστανῶν, χειλῖαρχον λεγεῶνος ι´¹⁵ Φρεντησίας, ἐπίτροπον
τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ | τῆς ἐν Καμπανίᾳ | εὐθηνίας, | πανάρετον | ἥρωα
— *vac.* — Κλαυδία ¹⁰ Πηγίλλα τὸν ἑαυτῆς | ἄνδρα ἀρετῆς
ἔνεκεν.

The name of the equestrian officer on this inscription has been lost. His wife, Claudia Regilla, set up the epitaph in honour of her deceased husband: πανάρετον ἥρωα — τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν. This Claudia Regilla was presumably related to Tib. Claudius Reglos (Regulus) Quirina filius Tib. Claudii Kallikleous (see stemma)⁷⁹.

The first post the anonymous knight held was the *praefectura fabrum*: ἑπαρχος τεχνειτῶν. This function's role as a prelude and antechamber

⁷⁸ See H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 110.

⁷⁹ *Sagalassos* IV, no. 2.3.

to the *militiae equestres* has already been outlined above in the commentary on the career of Tib. Claudius Piso (no. 1)⁸⁰.

The career of the anonymous officer comprised two *militiae*:

(a) ἑπαρχὸς σπείρης Βρακαρυγουστανῶν — *praefectus cohortis Bracaraugustanorum*, his *militia prima*. This cohort has likewise been dealt with in connection with Tib. Claudius Piso (no. 1). This Piso was *praefectus cohortis III Bracaraugustanorum* in Iudaea/Syria. But the homonymous cohort of the anonymous officer does not bear a number. Did he serve in the same unit as Piso or in the *cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum* which was also stationed in Iudaea / Syria Palaestina under Hadrian⁸¹?

(b) χειλίαρχος λεγεῶνος ι΄ Φρεντησίας — *tribunus legionis X Fretensis*. The anonymous knight did his second *militia* in *legio X Fretensis*, which was also stationed in Jerusalem (Iudaea / Syria Palaestina)⁸².

Following these two *militiae*, our knight became ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τῆς ἐν Καμπανία εὐθηνίας — *procurator Augusti annonae in Campania*⁸³.

6. (M.) Iulius Maximianus

H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 108 no. 2.6 (AE 1993, 1560):

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ Φλαουίαν Σεουήραν, γυναῖκα Ἰουλίου
Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιτρόπου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, Ἰ θυγατέρα πόλεως,
πανάρετον.

On the career of Iulius Maximianus we are informed only fleetingly. He is mentioned as husband in the honorific inscription for his wife, Flavia Severa. Iulius Maximianus was the son of M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus (see no. 4). The relationship of these Iulii with the family of the Flavii was discussed above (see B. Local Elite 2. Titi Flavii: T. Flavius) Neon, and see stemma).

Iulius Maximianus is mentioned on the inscription as ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν — *procurator Augustorum*. A homonymous equestrian is

⁸⁰ B. DOBSON, *The Praefectus Fabrum in the Early Principate*, in *Britain and Rome. Essays presented to E. Birley on his sixtieth Birthday*, Kendal 1966, p. 61-84; H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 55), p. 178.

⁸¹ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 62), p. 233-248.

⁸² E. DABROWA, *Legio X Fretensis. A Prosopographical Study of its Officers (I-III A.D.)* (*Historia Einzelschriften*, 66), Stuttgart 1993, p. 11-21.

⁸³ For this *procuratela* see *Sagalassos V*, no. 21.

attested several times and in several posts in Egypt. For the argumentation of the identification and the sources on which it is based reference may be made here to an earlier paper⁸⁴. Summarily: the homonymous knight, Iulius Maximianus, was *epistrategos Heptanomiaie* (*procurator*) in the year 118. In 137 and 139 we find in the papyri one M. Iulius Maximianus, δικαιοδότης, i.e. *iuridicus Alexandriae*. To papyrologists we are dealing with one and the same person, that M. Iulius Maximianus was *epistrategos Heptanomiaie* in 118 and *iuridicus Alexandriae* in 137-139.

Now, is the M. Iulius Maximianus known from Egyptian documents identical with the Iulius Maximianus from Sagalassos? I believe there are sufficient arguments for this identification. The *praenomen* of Iulius Maximianus is not specified in the Sagalassos inscription, but since he is the son of M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus he probably bore the same *praenomen*; the combination M. Iulius is not so common and is therefore favorable to an identification; the father had been *tribunus legionis* in Egypt and had also held the post of *iuridicus*: in view of these relations and connections with Egypt he could be the *patronus* of his own son, securing a *procuratela* in Egypt for him too⁸⁵. For that matter, some families seem to have had a tradition of serving the emperor in the same provinces or frontier zones⁸⁶. Nor are there chronological counterindications to an identification. (M.) Iulius Maximianus ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν — *procurator Augustorum*: the plural does not refer to an imperial dyarchy, but simply indicates that he was *procurator* to two successive emperors. In 118 he was *epistrategos Heptanomiaie*, a post to which he was probably appointed in the transitional period Trajan (98-117) — Hadrian (117-138)⁸⁷. Like his father he attained the high office of *iuridicus Alexandriae*.

7. [L. Gellius Maxi]mus

- (1) *Sagalassos* V, no. 22 (Sagalassos):

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος?] | [Λ(ούκιον) Γέλλιον Μάξι]μον τὸν
κράτιστον | ἀρχίατρον καὶ ἀπὸ ἰ⁹ Μουσείου δοικηνάλριον
τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν μεγίστου καὶ ἀλνειακίτου καὶ θειοτάτου
Αὐτοκράτορος ἰ¹⁰ Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντονεῖνου Σε |
vac. — βαστοῦ — vac. — | τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς | — vac. —
πατρίδος — vac. —.

⁸⁴ *Neon-Library*, p. 110-111.

⁸⁵ H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales*.

⁸⁶ H. DEVIJVER, *Relations sociales*.

⁸⁷ H. DEVIJVER, *Neon-Library*, p. 110.

- (2) *CIL* III 6820 = *Eph. Epigr.* V (1884), p. 579 no. 1346 (Antiochia Pisidia):
 [– – –] | se[– – –] | arc[hiatro] | sancti[ssimi] | domini n(ostri) |
 Antonini | Aug(usti) ducenalrio et a Musio | sac(erdoti) perpet(uo)
 | dei Aesculapi | pa[trono?].
- (3) W.M. RAMSAY, *JRS* 2 (1912), p. 96 no. 25; *AE* 1914, 127; *JRS* 6 (1916), p. 133 (Antiochia Pisidia):
 Λ(ουκίω) Γελλίω ... | Τ...ιστορι ἀρχιάτρ[ρ]ω [καὶ] ἀπὸ |
 Μου[σ]είου καὶ δουληναρίω[ι] τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μεγίστου |
 [κα]ὶ [ἀ]νεικίτου κ[α]ὶ | θ[ε]ι[ο]τ[ά]του Αὐτοκράτορος Μ.
 Αὐρηλίου | Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβ(αστοῦ) | Ἰούλ(ιος)
 [Α]ῦρ(ήλιος) Γέλλιος | Λούκιος Σαγαλασσεὺς | τῆς πρώτης
 τῆς Πι[σιδίας] καὶ καλ[ι]στ[η]ς | – – –].
- (4) W.M. RAMSAY, *JRS* 14 (1924), p. 199 no. 35; *SEG* VI 563 (Antiochia Pisidia):
 [τὸ ἥρ]ῳν ἱατροὶ | [Λ.] Γέλλιος Μά[ξι]μο[ς] Ἀσκληπιοῦ
 δι[οὔ]λος – vel – δι[ι]άδοχος – καὶ – – | ἀνέστησαν].
- (5) D.M. ROBINSON, *TAPhA* 57 (1926), p. 224 no. 48; *AE* 1927, 171; *SEG* VI 554 (Antiochia Pisidia):
 Λ. Γέλλιον | Μάξιμον φίλον | καὶ ἀρχίατρον | τοῦ Κυρίου |
 ἡμ[ῶν] Μ. Αὐρηλίου | Ἀντ[ωνεῖνου] Σεβαστοῦ | – about 7
 lines missing – | Αἴλιος Ποντικὸς | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην.

The career of L. Gellius Maximus was discussed in detail in the first edition of inscription no. 1, which was found during the 1996 campaign⁸⁸. Thus a summary will suffice here, and the reader is referred to the cited publication for the full argumentation. Furthermore, the career of L. Gellius was also studied a quarter of a century ago by V. Nutton⁸⁹.

L. Gellius Maximus, who hitherto was thought to be from Pisidian Antioch, can now be definitely regarded as a native of Sagalassos (text 1: τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος; no. 3: the dedicator is manifestly a protégé of the *patronus* L. Gellius Maximus: Iulius Aurelius Gellius Lucius, who proudly says he hails from Sagalassos).

It was presumably to learn the medical profession that he went to Antioch, the cultural capital of the surrounding territory, although the city was itself under the influence since Hellenistic times of Pergamon and Ephesus, the two cultural *metropoleis* of Asia Minor.

There were links between Antioch and the famous *Asklepieion* of Pergamon, centre of the successful and widespread cult of Asclepius Soter. As priest and adept of the god Asclepius in Antioch (texts 2, 4) L.

⁸⁸ *Sagalassos* V, no. 22.

⁸⁹ L. Gellius Maximus, *Physician and Procurator*, *CQ* N.S. 21 (1971), p. 262-272.

Gellius Maximus probably maintained ties with the *Asklepieion* of Pergamon.

It is an acceptable hypothesis that L. Gellius Maximus came into contact with the emperor Caracalla in the Pergamon *Asklepieion*, where the latter followed a cure in the second half of the year 214. The emperor met L. Gellius Maximus there and appointed him his personal physician: *archiater*. On Caracalla's presence in the *Asklepieion* we are rather well-informed⁹⁰.

The emperor probably took L. Gellius Maximus along as *archiater* on his further travels through the East. Indeed, physicians always accompanied the emperor on his travels through the Empire⁹¹. From December 215 to March/April 216 Caracalla was in Alexandria ad Aegyptum⁹². L. Gellius Maximus was still in his entourage, which explains his presence in the *Museion* of Alexandria.

L. Gellius' title ἀπὸ Μουσείου δοικηνάριος — *a Museo ducenarius* has long been the subject of intense debate⁹³. A first point of discussion was whether the *museum* in question was that of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamon or Alexandria in Egypt. At present there is general agreement that it is the latter museum; but the debate continues as to the exact nature of the *procuratela a museo* and whether the term *ducenarius* specifically concerns the post of *procurator a museo* or is to be taken as a general qualification.

First the exact meaning of ἀπὸ Μουσείου — *a Museo*. Our earlier discussion of text no. 1 has clearly shown, I think, that the term ἀπὸ Μουσείου — *a Museo* indicates an office, not mere membership in the *museum*. The members of the *museum* were usually referred to as τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σειτουμένων ἀτελῶν⁹⁴ — i.e. they enjoyed the privileges of σίτησις and ἀτέλεια — «one of the tax-exempt maintained in the Museum». Exceptionally one also finds: τῶν ἀπὸ Μουσείου φιλ[οσόφων], (*P. Oxy.* 471), ἀπὸ Μουσείου accompanied by the

⁹⁰ Herodian IV 8.3; Dio LXXVII 15.6-7, 16.8; Chr. HABICHT, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions (Altortümer von Pergamon VIII 3)*, Berlin 1969, nos. 12, 14, 15; *OGIS* 513 = *IGR* IV 451; H. HALFMANN, *Itinera Principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich (HABES, 2)*, Stuttgart 1986, p. 227; *RIC* IV 1, p. 246 no. 238.

⁹¹ H. HALFMANN, *Itinera Principum*, p. 108-109.

⁹² H. HALFMANN, *Itinera Principum*, p. 225.

⁹³ *Sagalassos* V, no. 22. See most recently K. BURASELIS, *Zu Caracallas Strafmassnahmen in Alexandrien (215/6). Die Frage der Leinenweber in P. Giss. 40 II und der syssitia in Cass. Dio 77 (78).28.3, ZPE 108 (1995)*, p. 166-188.

⁹⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 62), p. 247; K. BURASELIS, *art. cit.* (n. 93).

plural article; thus one can refer to the senators as οἱ ἱ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς.

If we are dealing with an office, the question then arises what an imperial *procurator* would be doing in the *Museum* beyond the management of its finances⁹⁵. An important text hitherto never involved in the discussion about the exact function of L. Gellius Maximus can be found in Dio. Caracalla hated the philosophers, the Aristotelians, because Aristotle at the time was held to be partially responsible for the death of Alexander the Great. Caracalla wanted their books to be burned, and in particular he abolished their common messes in Alexandria and the other privileges that they had enjoyed (καὶ τὰ συσσίτια ἃ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εἶχον, τάς τε λοιπὰς ὠφελείας ὅσας ἐκαρποῦντο — LXXVII 7.3). In connection with Caracalla's bloodbath at Alexandria Dio also states (LXXVII 23.2) that the foreigners were exiled: did this include the members of the *Museum*?

In this context a reformation of the *Museum* with financial implications seems quite possible. The abolishment of the privilege of σίτησις for the Aristotelians obviously had monetary repercussions. Did Caracalla establish this *procuratela* to control the accounts of the *Museum* and did he find L. Gellius Maximus, his trusted *archiater*, the most suitable candidate for the job?

Aurelius Plutio from Hermopolis is cited in the papyri of the year 267 with exactly the same titulature as L. Gellius Maximus: ὁ κράτιστος δοικηνάριος καὶ ἀπὸ Μουσείου⁹⁶.

L. Gellius Maximus probably returned to Sagalassos after Caracalla's murder in 217. He was received as an celebrated knight and honoured as: τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος, presumably around 218-220.

Gellius Maximus, his son, became a senator, which is not surprising in view of the father's close relationship with the emperor. His career is discussed below in the section devoted to the senators of Sagalassos.

Conclusion

The case of L. Gellius Maximus (no. 7), who was long thought to have come from Pisidian Antioch but is now known for sure as a native

⁹⁵ V. NUTTON, *art. cit.* (n. 89), p. 269.

⁹⁶ *CPHerm* 53, 59, 124, 125; H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris 1960-1961, p. 1089; V. NUTTON, *art. cit.* (n. 89), p. 267; *PIR* I² A1576.

of Sagalassos, clearly shows how delicate it is to determine a person's geographical origin under the Principate. The mobility of knights, senators, intellectuals, even of simple soldiers — e.g. L. Antonius L.f. Quir(ina) Valens Sa[g]alasso (inscription found at Ratiaria, Moesia) — was quite astounding in the imperial period. And inter-municipal mobility (immigration — emigration) clearly requires further study. Tib. Claudius Piso (no. 1) was the son of Tib. Claudius Ilagoas: was he related to, e.g., Tib. Claudius Quirina Neon filius Eilagoou from Sagalassos⁹⁷ and/or to Tib. Claudius Eilagoas from Termessus⁹⁸? Iulia Sancta, known from an inscription of Attaleia, *IGR* III 773: Σεβαστοῦ ἀδελφὴν Παυλείναν Ἰουλία Ἰ Σάνκτα, honoured the sister of the emperor Hadrian, (Aelia) Domitia Paulina (ca. 120-130)⁹⁹. Was there a family relationship between this Iulia Sancta and M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus (no. 4), the influential patron of the T. Flavii of Sagalassos? Was Iulia Sancta perhaps the daughter of M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus and therefore the sister of (M.) Iulius Maximianus (no. 6 — see stemma)? The question whether the family had its roots in Attaleia or in Sagalassos must remain open. Can it be that (M.) Iulius Maximianus of Attaleia married Flavia Severa of Sagalassos, or that Iulia Sancta of Sagalassos wed someone from Attaleia? All questions to which further research and new epigraphical finds will hopefully provide more satisfactory answers.

The social advancement of the local elite of Sagalassos to the *ordo equester* was surely promoted by the actions of influential *patroni*. T. F(lavius) Attalianus Quadratus (no. 2) more than likely thanks his equestrian status to the family's patron, M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus (no. 4). The latter was manifestly the promoter of his own son's career, (M.) Iulius Maximianus (no. 6). And so too L. Gellius Maximus (no. 7), in view of his position as *archiater* to the emperor Caracalla, will have been able to secure the promotion of his son, Gellius Maximus, to senator. It is also interesting to note that social advancement was attained piecemeal, at least until the late second century: T. Flavius Attalianus Quadratus (no. 2) was the son of a newly enfranchised citizen and so the family reached the *ordo equester* in the second generation.

⁹⁷ *Sagalassos* V, no. 7.

⁹⁸ *TAM* III 1, no. 65; C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 3; *Sagalassos* IV, no. 2.2.

⁹⁹ *Sagalassos* IV, no. 1.3.

In two extensive studies I have examined the equestrian officers that hailed from the Eastern provinces of the Empire and the officers that did military service in those same Eastern provinces¹⁰⁰. One of the most striking results of that research was the finding that the *Orientalis* usually did both their *militiae* and their *procuratela*e almost exclusively in an Eastern, Greek-speaking — and frequently adjacent — province. Can climatological, geographical (familiarity with the region), linguistic factors explain this? Often one can even establish a kind of family tradition of service in a specific province. Thus the Caristanii from Pisidian Antioch: at least four — and probably five — members of this family served as *tribunus legionis XII Fulminatae* (Syria/Cappadocia)¹⁰¹.

This picture is confirmed by the equestrian officers from Sagalassos, as the following table shows: p. 146.

The presence of these knights in Iudaea/Syria Palaestina, Syria and above all Egypt is notable. These equestrians presumably also looked after the economic interests of Sagalassos, as well as their own, in the province in which they served: I am thinking, for example, of the export of Sagalassian earthenware to Egypt and the import of dried and salted Clarias-fish from the Nile¹⁰².

Despite the fact that these *equites Romani* served the emperor as military officers or *procuratores*, they continued to act as *euergetai* in their native *polis* of Sagalassos. Their status of *eques Romanus* provided a new stimulus for *euergesia* and to affirm their social prestige. Thus Tib. Claudius Piso (no. 1) was *archiereus*, *agonothetes*, and added new lustre to the *agones Klareia*, all of which he paid for out of his own pocket. T. F(lavius) Valerianus Alexander (no. 3) is honoured for his loyalty by *boule* and *demos* with a statue. L. Gellius Maximus (no. 7) is lauded as τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος. They also aspired to self-glorification through their *euergesia*, as we have shown in the case of Tib. Claudius Piso (no. 1).

¹⁰⁰ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 67), p. 109-225; ID., *The Equestrian Officers in the East*, in D.H. FRENCH – C.S. LIGHTFOOT (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 11 — BAR International Series, 553), Oxford 1989, p. 77-111.

¹⁰¹ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 67), p. 173-174.

¹⁰² *Sagalassos* IV, no. 2.3. See J. POBLOME — M. WAELEKENS, *Sagalassos and Alexandria. Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean*, in C. ABADIE-REYNAL (ed.), *Les céramiques en Anatolie aux époques hellénistique et romaine: productions et échanges*, Istanbul (forthcoming).

Militia I	1. Tib. Claudius Piso praefectus fabrum	2. T. F(lavius) Attalianus Quadratus	3. T. Fl(avius) Valerianus Alexander	4. M. I(ulius) Sanctus Maximinus	5. [— — —] praef. fabrum	6. (M.) Iulius Maximianus	7. [L. Gellius Maxim]mus archiater Caracallae
	coh. III Bracaraug. — Iudaea/Syr. Pal.	coh. II Thracum — Iudaea/Aegyptus	coh. IV Gallorum — ad Danubium?	quae cohors? — ubi?	coh. Bracaraug. — Iudaea/Syr. Pal.		
	leg. IV Scythica — Syria ala VII Phrygum — Syria	leg. III Gallica — Syria		leg. XXII Deiot. — Aegyptus ala Gaetul. — Iudaea	leg. X Fret. — Iudaea/Syr. Pal.		
Procuratela				— proc. Augusti — ubi?	— procurator Augusti annonae in Campania	— epistrategos Heptanomiaie — Aegyptus	— a Museo, ducenarius — Aegyptus
				— iuridicus Alexandreae — Aegyptus		— iuridicus Alexandreae — Aegyptus	

C. THE SENATORS

Not so long ago, the *ordo senatorius* was the subject of a new synthesis: *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale AIEGL su Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio* (Roma — 14-20 maggio 1981), two hefty volumes devoted to the overall problem, to specific themes, and to the senators per geographical sector of the Roman Empire¹⁰³. In *Tituli* 5 (pp. 603-650) H. Halfmann dealt with the senators originating from the provinces of Asia Minor: *Die Senatoren aus den Kleinasiatischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert (Asia, Pontus-Bithynia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia Cappadocia, Cilicia)*. Halfmann was certainly an appropriate choice to treat this topic, having recently devoted a monograph to the senators from the East: *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh.n.Chr.*¹⁰⁴.

Halfmann distinguishes three groups in the provincial elite of Asia Minor that advanced to senatorial status:

(a) During the Julio-Claudian dynasty mainly descendants of Italian immigrants (veterans and merchants) attained the *ordo senatorius*. They came from the *coloniae* in highly Romanized areas like Pamphylia.

(b) Under the Flavians and Trajan the descendants of the native royal houses reached the senate. These *homines novi* came from the former residential cities of these dynasties, such as Pergamon and Ancyra.

(c) From the late second — early third century the local municipal elite could be considered for adoption into the Roman senate. This local elite required several generations to reach the highest *ordo*: first the *civitas Romana* and municipal offices such as *archiereus*; then the *ordo equester*; and only thereafter admission to the *ordo senatorius*. These municipal elites were widespread, with the exception of the less urbanized areas of eastern Asia Minor.

Finally, it may be remarked that the lands owned by this senatorial elite were concentrated in the vicinity of their home towns and that they were therefore less attracted to Rome and Italy. The ties to their native cities were more intense, which involved them more in *munera* and *euergesia*.

Sagalassos belonged to the third group of the senatorial elite. Let us see if the picture sketched by Halfmann is also valid for Sagalassos.

¹⁰³ Vol. I = *Tituli* 4 (1982); vol. II = *Tituli* 5 (1982).

¹⁰⁴ *Hypomnemata*, 58 — Göttingen 1979.

1. (Aufidius) Coresnius Marcellus (agnomine) Zminthius

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 204 = *IGR* III 357:

[τὸν] κράτιστον | πρεσβευτὴν | καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον | Κορέσνιον
| Μάρκελλον | ἡ λαμπροτάτη Σαγαλασισέων πόλις | τὸν ἴδιον |
βουλευτὴν | καὶ εὐεργέτην | ἐγένετο ἀρχῆς τῆς περὶ | Αὐρ.
Διομηδτιανὸν Μακεδονιανὸν Ῥόδωνα.

CIG 4379d = *IGR* III 367 = *ILS* 8838 (Adada, Pisidia); *CIL* XIII 8035
(Bonna, Germania Inferior); *IGBulg* 732 (Discoduratae, Thracia);
AE 1975, 763 (Discoduratae, Thracia); see also *Sagalassos* V, nos.
12 & 19.

PIR I² A 1383; H. HALFMANN, *Senatoren*, p. 641; W. ECK, (1985),
p. 207, 249; B. REMY, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 332-333 (bibliography).

The career of Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus was, until quite recently, presented as follows: *legatus proconsulis Lyciae et Pamphyliae* (date unknown)¹⁰⁵, then *legatus legionis I Minerviae* (Bonna, Germania Inferior) in 222¹⁰⁶, and finally *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Thraciae* under Severus Alexander¹⁰⁷.

B. Rémy¹⁰⁸ has recently reinterpreted the career of Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus on the basis of a new reading of *IBulg.* 732 and of a new inscription (*AE* 1975, 763). His governorship of Thrace is now to be dated under Philippus Arabs, 244-249¹⁰⁹. Since there are 25 years between the command of *legio I Minerva* (a. 222) and the governorship of Thrace (ca. a. 247¹¹⁰) we may quite safely assume to be dealing with father and son. Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus I was the *legatus legionis I Minerviae* (a. 222), while his son, Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus II, became governor of Thracia (ca. a. 247). Which of the two was *legatus proconsulis Lyciae et Pamphyliae* cannot be determined¹¹¹.

The precise relationship of the Aufidii Coresnii Marcelli (I, II) with the *consul ordinarius* II of the year 226, C. Aufidius Marcellus, cannot now be established¹¹².

¹⁰⁵ *CIG* 4379d = *IGR* III 367 = *ILS* 8838; C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 204 = *IGR* III 357.

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* XIII 8035; W. ECK, *Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.-3. Jahrhundert* (*Epigraphische Studien*, 14), Köln-Bonn 1985, p. 207, 249.

¹⁰⁷ *IGBulg* 732.

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 332-333.

¹⁰⁹ B.E. THOMASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 175 no. 62.

¹¹⁰ B. REMY, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 333.

¹¹¹ B. REMY, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 333; B.E. THOMASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 175 no. 62; *AE* 1975, 763.

¹¹² B. REMY, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 333.

Aur(elius) Diomedianus Macedonianus Rhodoon, who is mentioned in the inscription from Sagalassos, is dealt with elsewhere¹¹³.

The *polis* of Sagalassos honours Coresnius Marcellus as *euergetes* (τὸν εὐεργέτην) and proudly points out that he is a member of the *boule* and therefore a fellow citizen (τὸν ἴδιον βουλευτήν) who rose to senatorial rank.

2. Cl(audius) Dometillianus Proculus

C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 212 = *IGR* III 356 (Pl. 9):

Κλ. Δομετιλλιανὸν Πρόκλον, | τὸν κράτιστον | συνκλητικὸν, | ἱερέα τοῦ πατρώου Διονύσου | ἡ πατρίς | ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, | ἦν ἐπεδείξατο | παρὰ τὸν τῆς | πολιτείας | χρόνον καὶ τῆς | διὰ παντὸς εἰς | τ[ῇ]ν πόλιν εὐνοίας· τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα παρ' ἑαυτῆς | ἡ πόλις· | ἐπὶ προβούλου | Τηλεμαχianoῦ | Τηλεμάχου, | ἐπιμελησαμένου Νεωνianoῦ | Μητροδώρου.

PIR II² C854: «civis Sagalassensis — II saec. ut videtur»; H. HALFMANN, *Senatoren*, p. 641: «wohl 3. Jh.».

Cl(audius) Dometillianus Proculus, ὁ κράτιστος συνκλητικός — the specific qualification of a senator — was priest of the local Dionysius cult. He is eulogized for his benefactions to the *polis*, for which he is also honoured with a statue. Telemachianus, son of Telemachus, was the president of the *boule*, the local 'senate' of Sagalassos. Neonianus, son of Metrodorus, was charged with the execution of the councils's resolution.

This senator is to be situated in the third century.

3. Gellius Maximus

Dio LXXIX 7.1-2:

... δὲ Οὐῆρος ἐπιτολήσας καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ μοναρχίᾳ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Γαλλικῷ, οὗ ἦρχε, καὶ Γέλλιος Μάξιμος ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, καίπερ ὑποστρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τοῦ τετάρτου τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ τείχους, ἐδικαιώθησαν. οὕτω γάρ που πάντα ἄνω κάτω συνεχύθη ὥστε ἐκείνους τὴν ἔφεσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν μὲν ἐξ ἑκατοντάσχων ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντα, τὸν δὲ ἱατροῦ υἱὸν ὄντα ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι.

PIR IV² G130: «Gellius Maximus, medici filius, legatus legionis quartae Scythicae in Syria (Coele) a. 219 imperium appetens interficitur (Dio 79,7,1-2). Vide num idem sit: *PIR* IV² G123: Gellius, novarum rerum suspectus sub Macrino (*vita Diadum.* 9,1, cf. 8,4-9; utraque epistula ficta)»; V. NUTTON, *CQ* 21 (1971), p. 262 n. 3; B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, p. 118 n. 5.

¹¹³ C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 204 = *IGR* III 357; see *Sagalassos* V, nos. 12, 19.

Gellius Maximus the senator was the son of L. Gellius Maximus, «amicus et archiater Imperatoris Caracallae, (procurator) ducenarius a Museo, sacerdos perpetuus Aesculapi»¹¹⁴. Until 1996 the father, L. Gellius Maximus, *archiater Caracallae*, was known through four inscriptions, all from Pisidian Antioch¹¹⁵. On the basis of these inscriptions Pisidian Antioch was taken to be the *origo* of both the father, L. Gellius Maximus, and his homonymous son, Gellius Maximus, senator¹¹⁶.

The 1996 excavations in Sagalassos, however, turned up a new inscription from which it appears that the Gellii Maximi hailed from Sagalassos: [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος (?) | Λ(ούκιον) Γέλλιον Μάξι|μον τὸν κράτιστον ἀρχίατρον καὶ ἀπὸ | Μουσείου δουκηνάλριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν μεγίστου καὶ ἀνεικῆτου καὶ θειοτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος | Μ. Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἀντονείνου Σεβαστοῦ | τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς | πατρίδος¹¹⁷.

The career of L. Gellius Maximus, *archiater Caracallae*, has already been discussed above (see B. Equestrian no. 7). It is evident that his position in the immediate entourage of the emperor offered an ideal opportunity to further his son's career and secure his admission to the senate. Gellius Maximus was certainly *praetorius* when he was *legatus legionis IIII Scythicae* at Seleuceia ad Euphraten¹¹⁸. In 219, as commander of *legio IIII Scythica*, he showed ambition to become emperor himself, but that ambition cost him his life (Dio LXXIX 7.1-2).

4. M. Ulpius Callippianus

CIG 4369; C. LANCKORONSKI, *Villes*, no. 193a:

—ον [καὶ Σαγαλασσέ]α νεικ[ήσαντα] ἐνδό[ξ]ως ἀνδ[ρ]ῶν πανκράτι[ο]ν | ἀ[γ]ῶνα Καλλιπ[π]ιανεῖον | Νεικατόρειον τὸν ἐπιτελεσθέντα ἐκ χρημάτων | καταλείψεως τοῦ κρ(ατίστου) γελνομένου ὑπατικοῦ Μ. Οὐλπίου Καλλιππιανοῦ, ἀγῶνοθετοῦντος τὸ ἀ' καὶ τοῦ[τ]ον τὸν ἀ[γ]ῶνα Κούντου | Αὐρ. Διομηδιανοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου.

¹¹⁴ *PIR* IV² G131.

¹¹⁵ No. 1: *CIL* III 6820 = *Eph. Epigr.* V (1884), p. 579 no. 1346; no. 2: W.M. RAMSAY, *JRS* 2 (1912), p. 96 no. 25; *AE* 1914, 127; *JRS* 6 (1916), p. 133; no. 3: W.M. RAMSAY, *JRS* 14 (1924), p. 199 no. 35; *SEG* VI 563; no. 4: D.M. ROBINSON, *TAPhA* 57 (1926), p. 224 no. 48; *AE* 1927, 171; *SEG* VI 554.

¹¹⁶ *PIR* IV² G131: «L. Gellius Maximus, fortasse origine Antiochensis»; H. HALFMANN, *Senatoren*, p. 645-646: «Antiocheia ad Pisidiam».

¹¹⁷ *Sagalassos* V, no. 22.

¹¹⁸ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 66).

PIR III V543: «M. Ulpius Callippianus, quondam consularis — ὁ κρ. γενόμενος ὑπατικός: ex eius testamento agon Callippianeus Sagalassus celebratus»; W. ECK, *RE Suppl.* XIV (1974), col. 936: «Man wird annehmen dürfen, daß er entweder aus der Stadt Sagalassos selbst oder der näheren Umgebung stammte. Wohl 3. Jhdt. n.Chr.»; H. HALFMANN, *Senatoren*, p. 641.

M. Ulpius Callippianus was presumably a descendant of a new citizen of the emperor Trajan¹¹⁹. He is mentioned in an inscription honouring an athlete, victorious in the *pankration*. The victory was scored during the *agon Callippianeius*, for which funding had been provided in the last will of the *consularis*, M. Ulpius Callippianus. The *agonothetes* for the first such *agon* was Quintus Aurelius Diomedianus Alexander, who was a member of the local elite of Sagalassos around 220-240 (see A. Local elite, 5. (Marci) Aurelii).

Once again the *euergesia* of the *consularis* M. Ulpius Callippianus toward his *polis* Sagalassos is explicitly mentioned in an inscription honouring an athlete. The self-glorification of the senator is patent (see B. Equestrians, no. 1: Tib. Claudius Piso).

Conclusion

The picture sketched by Halfmann¹²⁰ of entry into the *ordo senatorius* by the local elite of the provinces of Asia Minor in the late second and third centuries is also valid for Sagalassos.

(Aufidius) Coresnius Marcellus may be situated about 220-240, Gellius Maximus was *legatus legionis (praetorius)* in 219, and M. Ulpius Callippianus should probably be dated around 220-240.

Only Gellius Maximus' *patronus* is known, viz. L. Gellius Maximus, his own father, who was Caracalla's personal physician.

Unfortunately, the full career or *cursus honorum* of these senators remains unknown, so we are unable to determine their participation in the administration of the Empire. Indeed, from the beginning of the third century inscriptions detailing a *cursus honorum* become more infrequent¹²¹.

¹¹⁹ B. HOLTHEIDE, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 358-365.

¹²⁰ H. HALFMANN, *Senatoren*, p. 603-604.

¹²¹ H. DEVIJVER, *Veränderungen in der Zusammensetzung der ritterlichen Offiziere von Septimius Severus bis Gallienus (193-268)*, in W. ECK (ed.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie* (Kolloquium Köln 24-26 November 1991), Köln-Wien-Weimar 1993, p. 205-231.

Their ties to their *polis*, on the other hand, are well-attested. Halfmann already noted¹²² that this category of senators was not oriented to Rome and Italy, as their land holdings lay in the vicinity of their birthplace.

- Aufidius Coresnius Marcellus: honoured as member of the local *boule* and *euergetes* (τὸν ἴδιον βουλευτὴν καὶ εὐεργέτην).
- Cl(audius) Dometillianus Proculus: priest of Dionysus at Sagalassos (ἱερεὺς τοῦ πατρῶου Διονύσου); honoured with a statue by the *polis* for his loyalty.
- M. Ulpius Callippianus: founded posthumously the *agon Callippianeus*, providing the necessary funds by testamentary legate.

Was this close-to-home mentality one of the centrifugal tendencies that would lead to the break-up of the Empire?

D. GENERAL CONCLUSION

The senators of Sagalassos are the terminus of a social evolution. Indeed Rome favoured a gradual process of social promotion, always confined to the loyal elements in the service of the emperor and the *Romanitas*. Almost two centuries passed between the first grants of the *civitas Romana* in Sagalassos and the first admission of a Sagalassos native to the *ordo senatorius*.

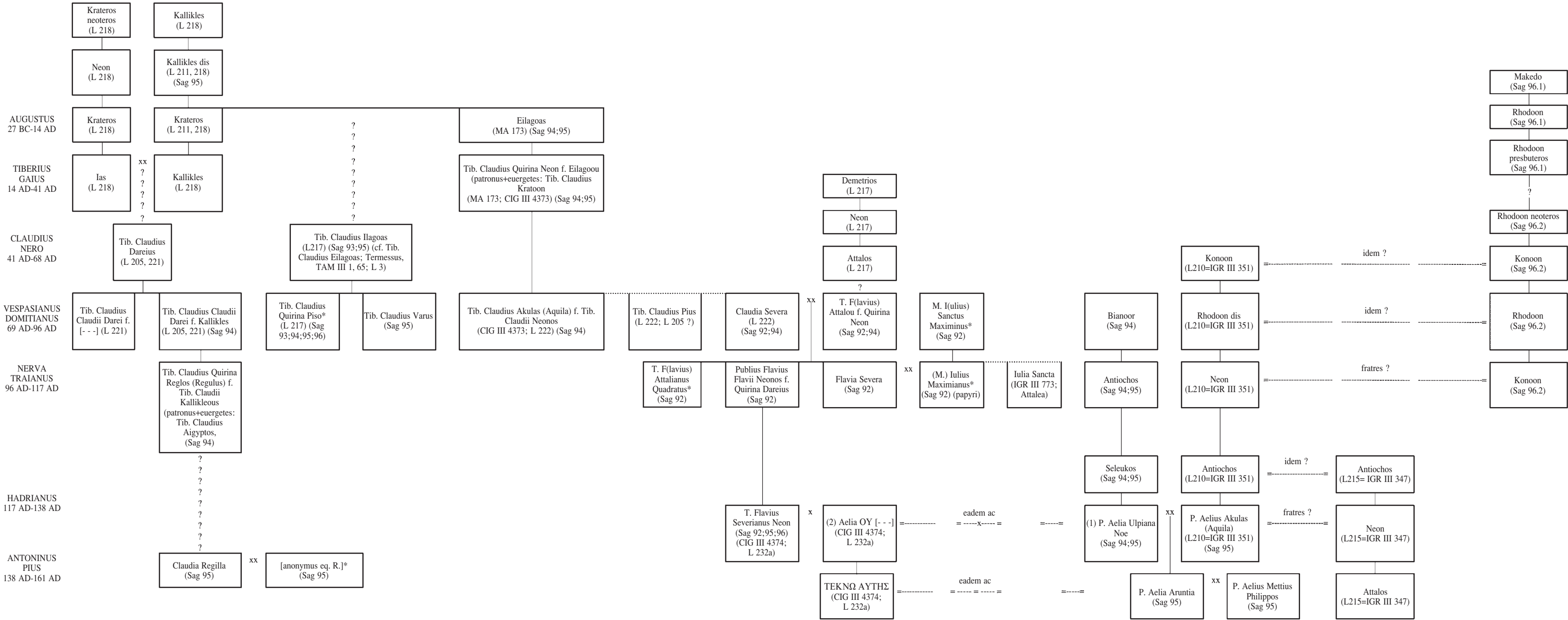
The rich epigraphical and archaeological evidence of Sagalassos — in comparison with other cities of the Roman Empire — has enabled us to sketch the microcosmos of Sagalassos reasonably well. It is captivating to see how well this picture of Sagalassos fits the macrocosmos of the immense *Imperium Romanum*. The phenomenon of the Roman emperor's omnipresence throughout the Empire is manifest in Sagalassos through the innumerable inscriptions and statues honouring emperors and the imperial cult (*archiereis*)¹²³. The emperor was the realizer of the Roman social order for the loyal local meritocracy on three levels: the municipal elite, the *ordo equester*, and the *ordo senatorius*.

B-3010 Kessel-Lo
Eikenboslaan 20

Hubert DEVIJVER

¹²² H. HALFMANN, *Senatoren*, p. 603-604.

¹²³ The *agones* of the third century A.D. were also sometimes closely associated with the imperial cult (see n. 51 above).



* Equites Romani

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* III, 1853.

IGR = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*, 1906.

L = C. Lanckoronski, *Les villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie* II, 1893.

MA = R. Paribeni en P. Romanelli, *Monument Antichi* 23, 1914, 260 nr 173.

TAM = *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, 1901- .

Sag 92 = H. Devijver, The Inscriptions of the Neon-Library of Roman Sagalassos, *Sagalassos II* (campaign 1992) 1993, 107-124.

Sag 93 = H. Devijver and M. Waelkens, Roman Inscriptions from the Upper Agora at Sagalassos, *Sagalassos III* (campaign 1993) 1995, 115-126.

Sag 94 = H. Devijver and M. Waelkens, Roman Inscriptions from the Fifth Campaign at Sagalassos, *Sagalassos IV* (campaign 1994) 1997 (forthcoming).

Sag 95 = H. Devijver and M. Waelkens, Roman Inscriptions from the Sixth and Seventh Campaigns at Sagalassos, *Sagalassos V* (campaigns 1995 and 1996) (in preparation).

Sag 96 = Idem.



Fig. 1. Inscription in honour of Marcus Lollius ([leg(atus) Augusti])
pro praetore Galatiae). (Photograph M. Waelkens)

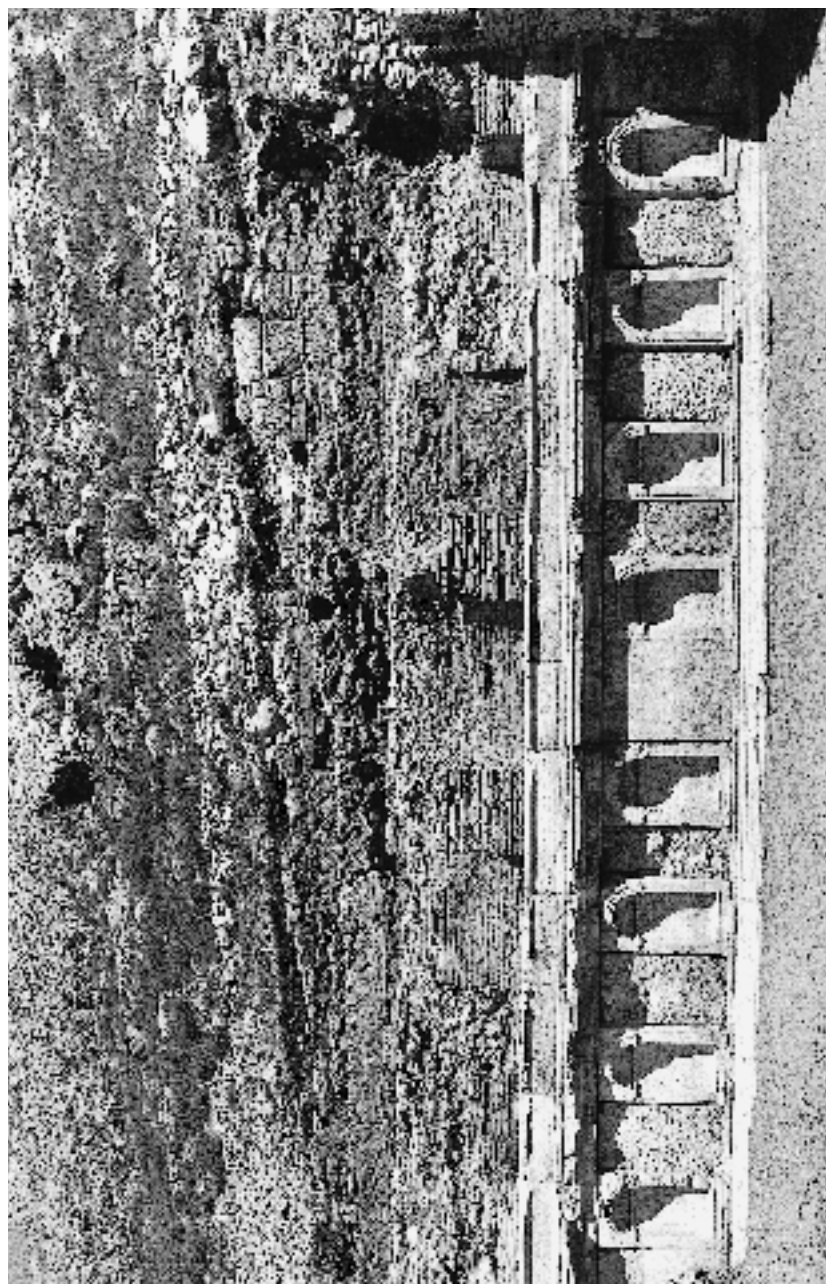


Fig. 2. General view of the library with the seven inscriptions above the row of niches at the back
(Photograph M. Waelkens)

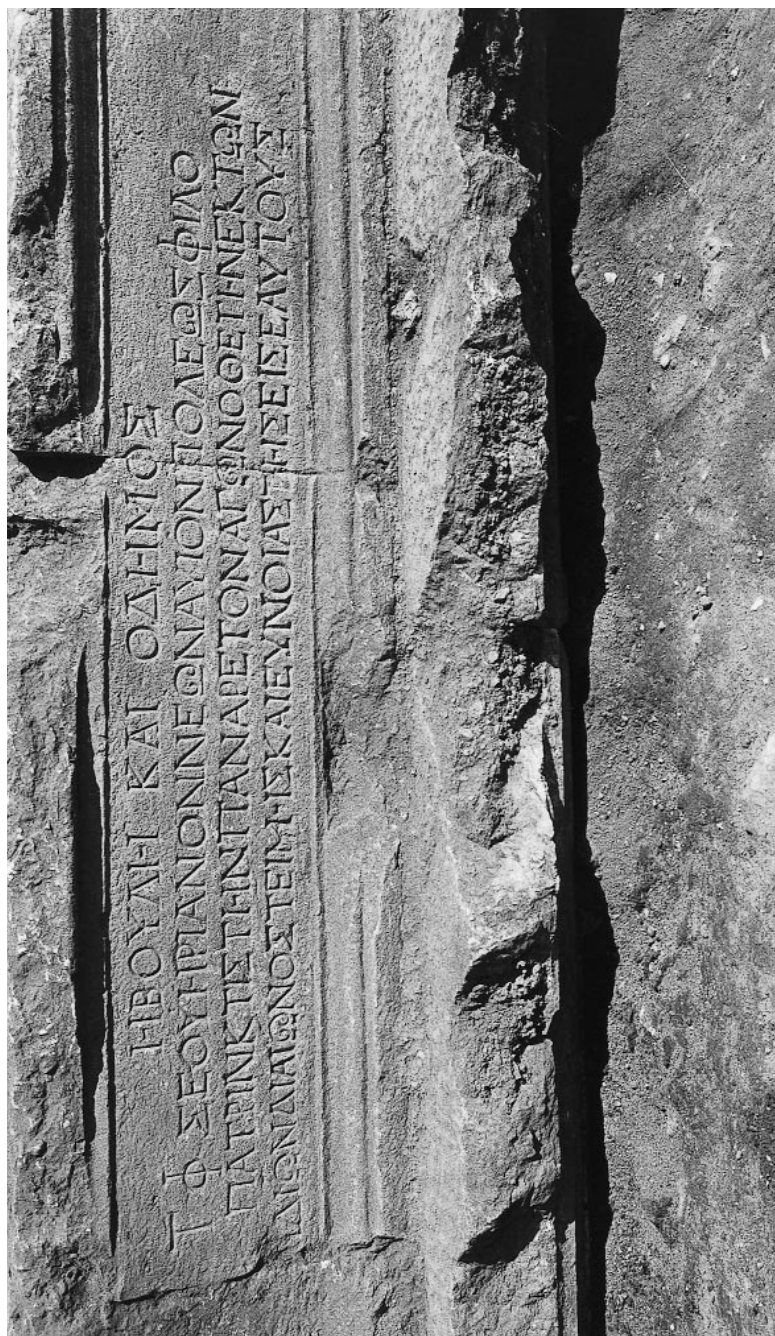


Fig. 3. Inscription of T. Flavius Severianus Neon, founder of the library (Photograph M. Waelkens)

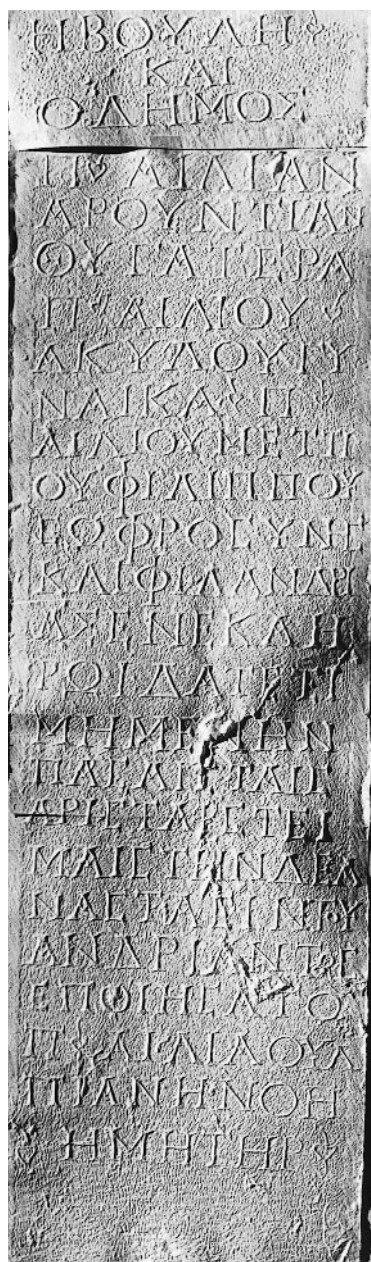


Fig. 4. Inscription in honour of P. Aelia Aruntia, daughter of P. Aelia Ulpiana Noe (Photograph M. Waelkens)



Fig. 5. Inscription in honour of Aurelia Polemoniane Drakainiane Ias
(Photograph M. Waelkens)



Fig. 6. Inscription in honour of Arnestes (Photograph M. Waelkens)



Fig. 7. Inscription of M. Iulius Sanctus Maximinus
(Photograph M. Waelkens)



Fig. 8. Inscription in honour of an anonymous equestrian procurator
(Photograph M. Waelkens)

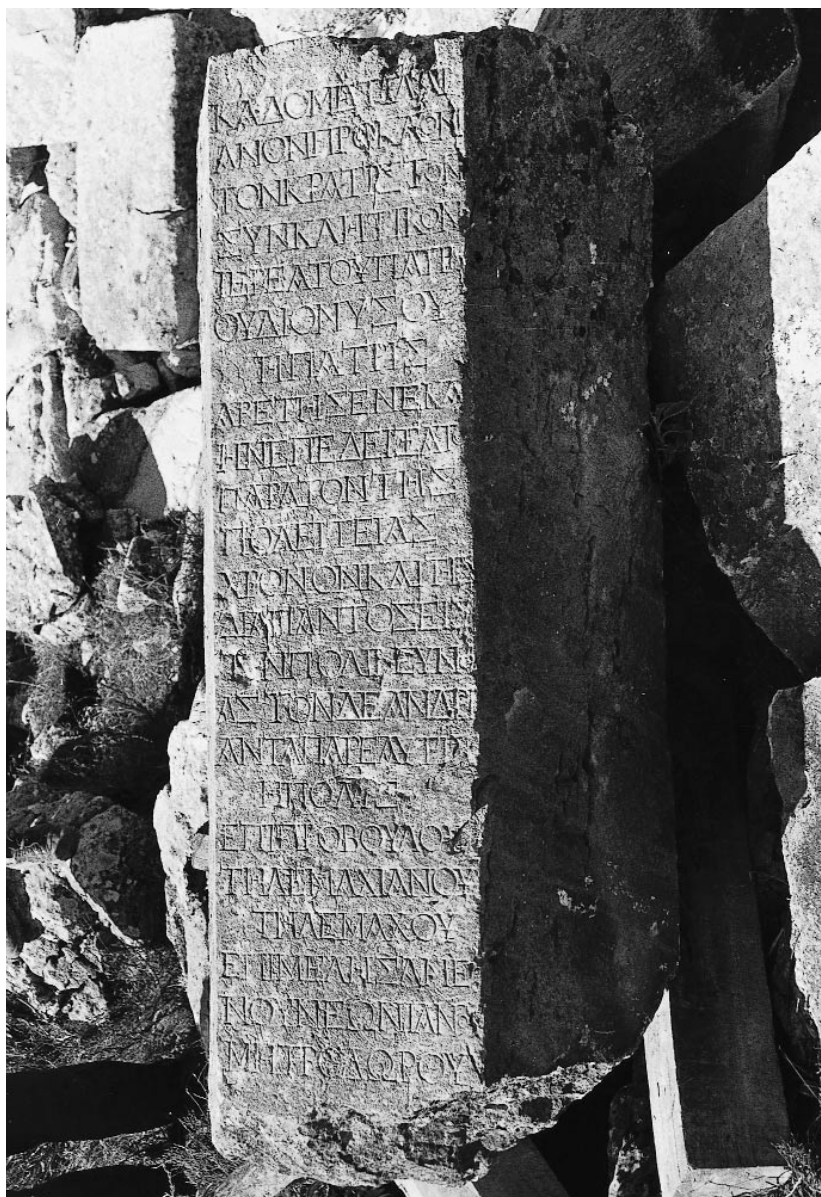


Fig. 9. Inscription in honour of Cl(audius) Dometillianus Proculus
(Photograph M. Waelkens)

FURTHER PROGRESS ON I. MANISA 523

This article is a sequel to my study of some legal and philological aspects of *I. Manisa 523*, a recently published inscription from the territory of Sardes¹. My rapid return to this text is largely due to the highly problematic nature of the inscription which necessarily makes of its reconstruction and interpretation a slow process. The aim of this follow-up article is to contribute to this process by submitting a number of improvements which have suggested themselves to me since the publication of my first deliberations on the subject. For clarity's sake, it should be emphasized that my overall interpretation of the document remains more or less unchanged. In other words, my explorations in the following pages can be described as an attempt to erect a few additional walls on the foundations already laid.

In order to explain how I arrived at the new reading offered here, let me begin by printing the last ten lines of Malay's *editio princeps* of the text:

- | | |
|----|--|
| 48 | Ἀσίνιος Ῥούφος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι χαίρειν· [ἡ Ἀριλ]-
ληνῶν κώμη προσήκουσά μοι ἐ' προγόνων, [ὡς ἐπίσ]-
τασθε, ἔγραψέ μοι παρακαλοῦσα ὅπως Ε[---]-
ξομαι τῷ Αὐτοκράτορι περ[ὶ c. 4]ΩΡΟΥ καὶ ΔΗΜΟΣ[- οὐκ ἐ]-
πεὶ δύσκολον ἦν μοι ἐντυχ[εῖν τ]ῷ Αὐτ[οκράτορι], |
| 52 | ἀλλ' ὅτι διαβάλλον ἦν ὑμᾶς Ο[c. 2/3]Σ τὰς Α[----]
πανηγύρεις πένπετε, τῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κ[-----]-
ΣΗ οὐ πένπετε, τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ταύτ[ην -----]
ἀξιωθῆναι δικαίων· ἐρ(ρ)ῶσθαι ἡμ[ᾶς βούλομαι] |
| 56 | πανοικεῖ. |

It should be made clear from the start that, with the exception of the dotted *rho* in line 50, I am in agreement with the first editor's reading of the traces preserved on the stone. On the other hand, I do not agree with the supplements and overall interpretation suggested in his commentary. It is only fair to call attention to the fact that he offered these suggestions with the rider that they were «still far from being totally convincing».

¹ H. MALAY, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Manisa Museum (Ergänzungsbande TAM, 19)*, Wien 1994, no. 523. Cf. L. DE LIGT, *Ius nundinarum and immunitas in I. Manisa 523*, *EA* 24 (1995), p. 37-54.

This paper is therefore no more than my second response to the exhortation implied by this frank admission.

The main differences between Malay's interpretation and my (original) position are as follows:

i) Whereas Malay was in two minds as to whether [οὐκ ἐ]πεί (Il. 50-51) marked the beginning of a new sentence, I argued that this was not the case. This means that no comma should be printed before τῶν αὐτῶν in l. 54, and that the second πένπετε clause runs on to δικαίων in l. 55.

ii) Although I accepted Malay's suggestion that ΔΗΜΟΣ- in line 50 represented some form of the adjective δημόσιος, I rejected his theory that the passage refers either to public lands or to the public revenues of the Roman state. Instead, δημόσιος must denote the «community-wide» involvement of the addressees of the letter, that is the Sardians.

iii) In contrast to the first editor, I suggested that the double πένπετε in ll. 53-54 referred not to the sending of goods (and visitors) to neighbouring fairs, but to the sending of a message (or messengers) to the emperor.

iv) In conformity with my interpretation of the syntax of the document (cf. i.), I suggested that τῶν αὐτῶν καί in l. 54 meant «the same as» rather than «the same also». This means that the dative τῇ δὲ ... -ση should be interpreted as a *dativus commodi*, and that in l. 54 we should read ταύτ[αις instead of ταύτ[ην].

v) Following up on the first and fourth of these suggestions, I argued that the end of l. 54 cannot have referred to the taking of some imperial decision. Instead, the final word of this line must have been a participle (e.g. δεόμενοι) belonging with πένπετε.

vi) Finally, the difficulties posed by finding a satisfactory supplement for the end of l. 50 led me to suggest that the reading [οὐκ ἐ]πεί was wrong, in which case the first two words of l. 52 should be read as ἄλλο τι rather than as ἄλλ' ὅτι².

A good starting point for the present discussion is my return to the reading ἄλλ' ὅτι. One factor in bringing about this *retractatio* has been my increasing familiarity with the *Digest*, where *non quia... sed quod* and similar expressions are found in a number of passages³. The Greek

² Owing to a most fortunate error which must have crept in at the typesetting stage, the revised text actually has ἄλλ' ὅτι. But ἄλλο τι is the reading defended in the accompanying text.

³ The variants include *non quia... sed quod* (e.g. *Dig.* I 2.1 pr.; I 2.2.2); *non quia... sed quia* (e.g. *Dig.* V 1.12.2; XXI 1.14.4; XXIII 2.43.12); and *non quod... sed quia* (e.g. *Dig.* XXIII 3.9.3).

equivalent would, of course, be οὐκ ἐπεὶ ... ἀλλ' ὅτι. Apart from that, contrasting motivating clauses of precisely this type (e.g. οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ... ἀλλ' ὅτι) are to be found in a handful of literary sources, although these tend to belong to the late Empire⁴. The reading οὐκ ἐπεὶ is therefore definitely possible and, it may be added, almost certainly correct.

The false step of reading ἄλλο τι at the beginning of l. 52 having been retrieved, let us see whether the adoption of Malay's restoration enables us to shed some new light on the text and meaning of the letter. The publication of the present paper bears witness to my belief that some further progress can be made. Indeed, it is my contention that virtually all the inscription's remaining problems can be resolved by integrating the reading ἀλλ' ὅτι into my overall interpretation of the document. In the remainder of this article I would like to make good this claim by offering some further suggestions concerning the meaning and syntax of I. Manisa 523.

The first of these suggestions concerns the restoration of the heavily damaged περί clause in l. 50. If the reading [οὐκ ἐ]πεὶ is accepted, the second half of the line should be restored as καὶ δημοσ[c. 3, οὐκ ἐ]πεὶ etc. Unfortunately, any attempt to arrive at a further restoration of the περί clause is complicated by the difficulties surrounding the traces preceding καί. At first glance, the two dotted characters look like an *o-mikron* followed by a heavily damaged *upsilon*, *chi* or *nu*. On closer inspection, however, it becomes apparent that the putative *o-mikron* may well be an illusion, since all of its few remaining traces can be explained either as belonging to other characters or as the product of later damage. Furthermore, the left prong of the hypothetical *upsilon* could equally have belonged to the right upper part of a hooked character, that is Α, Δ or Λ. In that case, there would have been room between this character and the following ΟΥ καί for the vertical stroke of a *iota*. In short, although ΩΡΟΥ is almost certainly wrong, it cannot be determined whether the correct reading should be ΟΥΟΥ, ΟΧΟΥ, ΟΝΟΥ, ΑΙΟΥ, ΔΙΟΥ or ΛΙΟΥ.

Having noted these six possible readings, let us proceed by re-examining the relationship between the motivating clauses in ll. 51-55 and the contents of ll.47-50. If the reading οὐκ ἐπεὶ is correct, some state-

⁴ See e.g. the examples given by A.P. STEHOUWER, *Severian von Gabala, In illud pone manum tuam et in diversa testimonia* (CPG 4198). *Kritische Edition mit Einleitung und Übersetzung*, Amsterdam 1995, Appendix II, esp. p. 65, 76, 92-94 and 104.

ment made in the first four lines of the document is motivated in the following way: «it would not be difficult for me to apply to the emperor, but you would be discredited...». What preceding statement might call for this specific explanation? My original restoration of l. 50 (περ[ὶ οὗ c. 3]ΟΥ καὶ δημόσιον τι ἦν) was based on the idea that the overall aim of Asinius' letter must have been to urge the Sardinian authorities to apply to the emperor *in his stead*. What, though, if the premise of our reconstruction should be amended so as to make the envoy to be sent on this 'public' mission no other than Asinius Rufus himself⁵? The specific solution I have in mind involves the assumption that καί should be taken not as the copulative, but as the adverb. In other words, instead of connecting two nouns depending on περί, καί serves to emphasize an *adjective*. This leads me to the first positive suggestion of this article, namely that the second half of l. 50 should be restored as περ[ὶ βιβλίου]δίου καὶ δημοσίου, «concerning a petition (*libellus*) which is also municipal». The only reservation to be taken into account is that the reading [βιβλίου]δίου is *exempli gratia* in the sense that the damaged traces visible before -ου καί may be compatible with some other expression meaning «letter», «document», «petition» or «wish».

My second suggestion concerns the double πένπετε clause in ll. 52-54. As I explained in my earlier article, the main challenge posed by these lines is to account for the apparent absence of a direct object accompanying πέμπειν. In his commentary to the *editio princeps*, Malay tried to get around this difficulty by suggesting that πέμπειν should be taken to mean «to send visitors» (i.e. «to frequent»), and that the passage should be restored as ὅ[τι εἰς τὰς ... πανηγύρεις πένπετε. Unfortunately, this suggestion founders on the fact that πέμπειν does not mean «to send visitors» in any literary or non-literary text. If my earlier idea that πέμπειν means «to send word» is correct, there would seem to be no more than two possible solutions to this problem. The first of these is based on the assumption that the accusative τὰς ... πανηγύρεις may have depended on a verbal form. If this is correct, the pas-

⁵ The Asinius Rufus referred to in our inscription may be identical with the L. Asinius Rufus who was *legatus proconsulis* in Africa Proconsularis in about AD 110 (*IRT* 537). See W. ECK, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, München 1970, p. 42. See also R. SYME, *Pliny's Less Successful Friends*, in *Roman Papers*, vol. II, Oxford 1979, p. 486; and *id.*, *Minicius Fundanus from Ticinum*, in *Roman Papers*, vol. VII, Oxford 1991, p. 604 n. 5.

sage could be restored as ὅτι διαβάλλον ἦν ὑμᾶς εἰς τοῖς τὰς ἄλλας ἄγουσι⁷ πανηγύρεις⁸. The alternative is to retain Malay's restoration while bringing its translation in line with my alternative interpretation of πέμπειν. This would mean that the ὅτι clause ought to be restored as ὅτι διαβάλλον ἦν ὑμᾶς ὅ[τι εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πέριξ] πανηγύρεις πένπετε, and should be interpreted as referring to the sending of a request «with regard to the other fairs in the neighbourhood». Although the latter solution is far from elegant, it must be regarded as the likeliest candidate, not only because the reading ὅ[τι εἰς] provides a better fit with the traces visible after ὑμᾶς, but also because a few instances of εἰς having this unusual meaning are to be found in the literary sources⁹.

The only remaining problem concerns the meaning of the dative in ll. 53-54. Although it seems certain that τῇ δὲ ... -ση should be interpreted as a *dativus commodi*, it is not easy to arrive at a convincing restoration of the c. 10 characters which are missing from the end of l. 53. It may, however, be suggested that a satisfactory solution can be found if it is assumed that Asinius' letter dates from the reign of Antoninus Pius. According to this theory, the Arhillenoι were asking Asinius to submit a petition to the very man from whom they had obtained the *ius nundinarum* before his ascension to the throne. It follows that the second πένπετε clause may well have referred to the fact that the annual fair in question had been granted by the (present) emperor, suggesting that we should read τῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κ[υρίου] δοθεῖ[ση] (*a principe datae*). An important argument in favour of this reading is that ὁ κύριος is frequently used as the Greek equivalent of *princeps*¹⁰. Such a reference to the 'imperial' origin of their πανήγυρις

⁶ For this reading, cf. L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.*, p. 46, where I note that the traces following ὑμᾶς could be interpreted as the damaged remains of a right-angled character, such as *epsilon* or *pi*. For διαβάλλον ἦν εἰ, cf. R. KÜHNER - B. GERTH, *Satzlehre*, II 2, §551.8; F. BLASS - A. DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, §454 Anm. 1; note that οὐ is often used to deny the contents of such pseudo-conditional phrases.

⁷ A similar *dativus commodi* is found in SEG XXXII.1149, ll. 12-15: ταύτας ... τὰς μέσας καὶ κενὰς ἡμέρας ... αἰτῶ τῇ Μανδραγορεῖ λαβεῖν ἀγορεῖον.

⁸ Note that *hyperbaton* of the direct object is commonly found in passages in which the object is accompanied by an attributive expression (usually a simple adjective) and depends on a participle which is used as a noun. Cf. e.g. Isocr., *Panath.* 244: τοῖς τὰς τηλικαύτας ἔχουσιν δυναστείας; Plut., *Fab.* 16.5: οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας.

⁹ Cf. LSJ s.v. IV.1.a, citing Hdt. I 86 (λέγειν ἐς) and IV 98 (γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν).

¹⁰ See H.J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions*, Toronto 1974, s.v. κύριος, and F. PREISIGKE, *Worterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Vol. I, Berlin 1925,

would obviously lend considerable force to the villagers' warning that it would be «discrediting» for the Sardians not to support their application for further privileges.

The most convenient way of summarizing my deliberations of the foregoing paragraphs is to present a new text and translation of the last ten lines of *I. Manisa* 523:

- Ἀσίνιος Ρούφος Σαρδιανῶν ἄρχουσι χαίρειν· [ἡ Ἀριλ]-
 48 ληνῶν κώμη προσήκουσά μοι ἐ' προγόνων, [ὡς ἐπισ]-
 τασθε, ἔγραψέ μοι παρακαλοῦσα ὅπως ἐ[ντεύ]-
 50 ξομαι τῷ Αὐτοκράτορι περ[ὶ] βιβλιδίου καὶ δημοσίου,
 οὐκ ἐ]-
 πεὶ δύσκολον ἦν μοι ἐντυχ[εῖν τῷ] Αὐτ[οκράτορι],
 52 ἀλλ' ὅτι διαβάλλον ἦν ὑμᾶς ὅ[τι]· εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πέριξ]
 πανηγύρεις πένπετε, τῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κ[υρίου] δοθεῖ]-
 54 ση οὐ πένπετε τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ταύ[ταις] δεόμενοι]
 ἀξιωθῆναι δικαίων· ἐρ(ρ)ῶσθαι ἡμ[ῶς] βούλομαι]
 56 πανοικεί.

Asinius Rufus to the magistrates of the Sardians, greetings. The village of the Arhillenoi, which belongs to me from my ancestors, as you know, has written to me an appeal to the effect that I shall apply to the emperor on the basis of a petition which is also municipal, not because it was difficult for me to apply to the emperor, but because you were being discredited by the fact that you send with regard to (?) the other fairs in the area, but do not send in order to request that you be granted the same rights for the fair which has been given by the *princeps* as for those other fairs. I wish that you and your households may be doing well.

Although some of the readings suggested here may still be open to challenge, I am reasonably confident that the general meaning of the letter has now been clarified. For a variety of reasons which have been explained in my first article, it seems clear that ἐντεύξομαι in ll. 49-50 refers to an application for the privilege of ἀτέλεια. Furthermore, despite the lacuna in l. 53 the wording of the inscription suggests that the fair for which the Arhillenoi wanted to obtain this privilege already existed when they wrote their letter to Asinius Rufus. However that may be, the central message of the letter received by Asinius Rufus (and, indirectly, of the letter subsequently sent by him to the Sardians) is to be found in l. 50 (unfortunately one of the most damaged lines in the docu-

under the same heading. Preisigke's examples include *P. Strassb.* 22, line 18: διατάξεις εἰσὶν τῶν κυρίων, and *P. Flor.* 67, line 61: ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ κυρίου.

ment). If my restoration of this passage is correct, what the Arhillanoi are saying here is that although their request concerns a fair which is held on Rufus's private property, they would like the relevant application to be made on the basis of some 'public' (i.e. municipal) document. The reason why the villagers consider this to be the best way of going about things is explained in the second part of the document. It is not, of course, a matter of Asinius Rufus *needing* public support because it would be difficult for him to submit an application to the emperor (ll. 50-51). The only reason why a public petition is more appropriate is that the Sardians are about to make a similar request on behalf of other holders of the *ius nundinarum*. For this reason, it will be rather awkward for the town to withhold official support for the villagers' attempt to obtain immunity from taxation for *their* annual market.

As I have just said, it seems definitely possible that some of the readings upon which this summary is based remain susceptible of improvement. This reservation applies especially to my restoration of ll. 50 and 52. It is conceivable that further progress on either of these fronts will lead to some minor readjustments of my overall interpretation of *I. Manisa* 523. Despite this, I do not believe that the document permits of any reading radically different from that advanced in the foregoing paragraphs. And that seems a sufficient justification for the optimistic title of this contribution.

Utrecht University
Instituut voor Rechtsgeschiedenis

L. DE LIGT

IMPERIAL PORK

PREPARATIONS FOR A VISIT OF SEVERUS ALEXANDER
AND IULIA MAMAEA TO EGYPT

INTRODUCTION

In this article we present a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus kept in the Special Collections Library at Duke University¹. It records preparations for an upcoming visit of the emperor Severus Alexander and his mother Iulia Mamaea to Egypt. Evidence for a projected visit has emerged only recently. Whether the visit ever materialized is unknown. Just twenty years ago J.D. Thomas and W. Clarysse published a papyrus from the University of Michigan collection containing instructions to the strategus and the royal scribes of Middle Egypt regarding preparations for the visit². The Duke papyrus provides evidence that these preparations were indeed carried out at the local level in Middle Egypt. Even more interesting is the light it throws on the organization of the preparations for the imperial visit and on the average weight of pigs in Roman Egypt. Aurelius Onnophris alias Lykariion, *epimeletes* of pigs from the village of Paomis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, informs the strategus under oath that he has forty pigs ready. He submits what seem to be duplicate declarations to the strategus directly and apparently not through the village scribe of Paomis. This seems to contrast with the administrative structure in evidence for other imperial visits. More interestingly the papyrus gives the weight of the forty pigs, two thousand Roman pounds. This raises a number of practical issues: how did the *epimeletes* establish the weight of the pigs and how did he maintain it until the pigs were ordered to the nome capital, where the imperial visitors and their retinue were presumably to be fed and entertained?

¹ Scans of the papyrus at 72 and 150 dpi as well as a detailed catalogue record can be found in the Duke Papyrus Archive (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/531r.html>).

² J.D. THOMAS - W. CLARYSSE, *A Projected Visit of Severus Alexander to Egypt, AncSoc* 8 (1977), p. 195-207 = *SB XIV* 11651.

Thomas and Clarysse suggest that the visit of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea was scheduled for their return from the military campaigns in Persia (231-233), thus presumably for 233³. The Michigan papyrus is unfortunately not dated. The Duke papyrus accords with such a date, because the strategus it addresses, Aurelius Leonides, is known to have been in office from 229 to 238. No other unequivocal evidence for the visit has come to light. An inscription from Antinoopolis dedicated ὑπὲρ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea (December 231/January 232) may be a manifestation of *ferveur impériale* after the announcement of the visit⁴. The *terminus post quem* provided by Aurelius Leonides' appointment to the strategia of the Oxyrhynchite nome at least suggests that the visit of Iulia Mamaea to Alexandria attested by an apparently unique tetradrachm from year 8 (228/229)⁵ is not the one announced in the Michigan papyrus and anticipated in the Duke papyrus: Aurelius Leonides is attested only from the beginning of year 9 (September 11, 229)⁶.

TEXT

P. Duk. inv. 531 (formerly *P. Miss. inv. 98*) consists of what seem to be two duplicate documents. The first document breaks off earlier than the second, but apart from minor differences in abbreviations⁷ the texts appear to be identical and written in the same practiced hand⁸. The doc-

³ J.D. THOMAS - W. CLARYSSE, *art. cit.*, p. 199. H. HALFMANN, *Itinera Principum* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien, 2), Stuttgart 1986, p. 231-232, concurs.

⁴ A. BERNAND, *Les portes du désert*, Paris 1984, no. 12. See A. MARTIN, *La dédicace impériale de Coptos I. Portes 84*, *CE* 61 (1986), p. 318-323, esp. 322-323, discussing a similar but undated dedication. *P. Bad.* IV 89.12 (AD 222-235) deals with a procession ὑπὲρ τύχης καὶ διαμονῆς of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea in Hermopolis, a direct parallel to the dedications.

⁵ J.G. MILNE, *Some Alexandrian Coins*, *JEA* 4 (1917), p. 177-186, esp. 182-183; *id.*, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*, Oxford-London 1933, no. 3024; *id.*, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, London 1924³, p. 67. The reverse portrays Iulia Mamaea donating a gateway with two arches and three towers in Alexandria.

⁶ Needless to say, we know even less of Iulia Mamaea's movements before the Persian campaign than of those of her son. See J.D. THOMAS - W. CLARYSSE, *art. cit.*, p. 198.

⁷ Contrast Ὁξ(υρυγίτου) in line i.1 with Ὁξυρυγγ(ίτου) in line ii.2 and τοπ(αρχίας), which must have been abbreviated in line i.5, with τοπαρχίας in line ii.7

⁸ The same error occurs in both copies (lines i.5-6 and ii.8-9): χοίρων τῆς παρασκευαζομένης was originally written instead of χοίρων τῶν παρασκευαζομένων. This was only partially corrected to χοίρων τῆς παρασκευαζομένων in the second copy.

uments come from a *tomos synkollesimos* from the office of Aurelius Leonides. Perhaps the roll was reserved especially for correspondence relating to the preparations for the imperial visit, much like *P. Panop. Beatty* 1. The left margin is missing, but much of the top and right margins remains. The first document was originally slightly wider than the second. After the *tomos synkollesimos* was discarded the back was reused for a now barely legible account⁹.

232/233

P. Duk. inv. 531 recto

Oxyrhynchus

col. i

[Αὐρηλίῳ Λεωνίδῃ στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὀξ(υρυγίτου)
 [Αὐρήλιος Ὀννώφρις ὁ καὶ Λυκα-
 [ρίων Ψενεριέως μ]ητ(ρὸς) Τααρπα-
 [ήσιος ἀπὸ Παώμεως] τῆς Θμοι(σεφῶ)
 [τοπ(αρχίας) ἐπιμελητῆς χοίρων τῶν
 [παρασκευαζομέν]ων πρὸς τὴν
 [εὐτυχῶς γεινομέ]νην ἐπιδη-
 [μίαν τοῦ κυρίου ἡ]μῶν
 [Αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου]ν Αὐρηλίου
 [Σεουήρου Ἰ]αλ[εξάνδ]ρου]
 [Εὐτυχοῦς] Εὐσεβ[οῦς]
 [Σεβαστοῦ] καὶ τῆς
 [μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰ]ου[λίας]
 [Μαμαίας Σεβ(αστῆς)] ὁμνύω
 [τὴν Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου]

col. ii

Αὐρηλίῳ Λεωνίδῃ [στρ(ατηγῶ)
 Ὀξυρυγ(ίτου)
 Αὐρήλιος Ὀννώφρις ὁ καὶ]
 4 Λυκαρίων Ψενερι[έως]
 μητ(ρὸς) Τααρπάσιο[ς ἀπὸ]
 Παώμεως τῆς Θμοι(σεφῶ)
 τοπαρχίας ἐπιμελ[ητῆς]
 8 χοίρων τῆς παρασκ[ευ]-
 αζομένων/ πρὸς τὴν
 εὐτυχῶς γεινομ[ένην]
 ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ [κυρίου]
 12 [ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος]
 Μάρκου [Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου]
 Ἰαλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβ[οῦς]
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ]
 16 [καὶ τῆς μητ(ρὸς) αὐτοῦ]
 Ἰουλίας Μαμαίας Σεβ[ι(αστῆς)]
 ὁμνύω{ι} τὴν Αὐρηλί[ου]
 Σεουήρου Ἰαλεξάνδρου
 20 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 τύχην ἔχειν παρ' ἐ-
 μαυτῶ τοὺς συναθροι-
 σθέντας χοίρους ἀρι-
 24 θμῶ τεσσαράκο<ν>τα ἐκ
 λίτρῶ(ν) \w/ διςχειλί[ων]

i.1. στρ] οξ´ 3. μ]ητ 4. θμοτ 5. τῶν corr. ex της 6. [παρασκευαζομέν]ων corr. ex [παρασκευαζομέν]ης 7. 1. γινομένην 11. 1. Εὐσεβ[οῦς] Εὐτυχοῦς 14. ὁμνύω fort. ομνυνω[ι]

ii.2. οξυρυγ^z 5. μ]ητ 6. θμοτ 8. 1. τῶν 8-9. παρασκ[ευ]αζομένων/ corr. ex παρασκ[ευ]αζομένης 10. 1. γινομένην 17. Ἰουλίας fort. ἰουλίας 25. λίτρ^ο

⁹ See <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/531v.html>.

To Aurelius Leonides, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, Aurelius Onnophris alias Lykarion, son of Psenerieus and Taarpaesis, from Paomis in the Thmoisepho toparchy, overseer of the pigs which are being prepared for the propitiously impending visit of our lord Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus and his mother Iulia Mamaea Augusta: I swear upon the good fortune of Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord that I have with me the collected pigs, numbering forty, each weighing 50 pounds, (*totalling*) two thousand pounds (*rest lost*)

ii.1 (i.1) — Αὐρηλίῳ Λεωνίδῃ [στρατηγῶ] Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου): Aurelius Leonides is attested as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome from 229 to 238¹⁰. It is possible that the royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite nome also received a report from Aurelius Onnophris. Thomas and Clarysse point out that the publication of *protagmata* tends to fall to the strategi, but that «strategoi and royal scribes are to be seen acting closely in concert» in requisitions such as this¹¹. If the strategus wants to verify that the collectors have fulfilled their tasks κατ' ἰσότητα καὶ κατὰ τὸ δικαιοτάτον (*SB* XIV 11651, lines 7-8), he must be able to compare the tax records kept by the royal scribe for each village.

ii.3-5 (i.2-4) — Αὐρήλιος Ὀννώφ[ρις ὁ καὶ] Λυκαρίων Ψενερι[έως] μητ(ρὸς) Τααρπαήσιο[ς] is otherwise unknown in the papyri. The name Lykarion is rare. The patronymic is equally unfamiliar. There are five Theban Ψενεριεῖς known from ostraca of the second century¹². The metronymic is not uncommon, but it is found almost exclusively in the Oxyrhynchite nome throughout the second, third and fourth centuries. The address runs «To B, A» with no παρά preceding A and no χαίρειν following.

ii.6 (i.4-5) — [ἀπὸ] Πλώμεως τῆς Θμοι(σεφῶ) τοπ(αρχίας): two generations later, in satisfaction of beef and pork requisitions for the military *annona*, Paomis provides one of the smallest total weights of pork in its toparchy according to one text¹³.

ii.7-8 (i.5) — ἐπιμελ(ητῆς) χοίρων is unattested in the papyri and is likely to be *ad hoc*. There are ἐπιμεληταὶ κρέως who collect for the military *annona*. In *P. Cair. Isid.* 44 (Karanis, 305/306) an ἐπιμελητῆς κρέως collects *choiridia*. In the latter text some *choiridia* were rejected, perhaps because of insufficient weight. See *PSI* VII 820.2.21, 3.33, *P. Charite* 13.i.12-13, and *P. Panop. Beatty* 1.vi.153 for other pig collectors.

ii.8-9 (i.5-6) — τῆς παρασκευαζομένης was written first in both copies instead of τῶν παρασκευαζομένων: the scribe is clearly the same. The mistakes are copying errors. The scribe who wrote this document for Aurelius Onnophris presumably also wrote reports for the *epimeletai* of other products.

¹⁰ G. BASTIANINI - J.E.G. WHITEHORNE, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (*Pap. Flor.*, 15), Firenze 1987, p. 98.

¹¹ J.D. THOMAS - W. CLARYSSE, *art. cit.*, p. 204.

¹² *O. Bodl.* II 536.2, 881.2, 1795.2, 2398.4, and 2519.4.

¹³ *P. Oxy.* XXIV 2422.71-104. On Paomis see P. PRUNETI, *I Centri abitati dell' Ossirhinchite* (*Pap. Flor.*, 9), Firenze 1982, p. 140.

He modelled the report on the pigs on a report dealing with a product of feminine gender such as κριθή.

ii.9-11 (i.6-8) — πρὸς τὴν εὐτυχῶς γεινομένην ἐπιδημίαν: for parallels other than those in *P. Panop. Beatty* referred to in the commentary below see *P. Oxy.* VIII 1119.21 (295), a petition to the epistrategos: πρὸς τὴν εὐτυχῶς ἐσομένην σου ἐπιδημίαν, *P. Oxy.* X 1261.7 (325), an oath from a councillor of Oxyrhynchus that he has received a consignment of goods designated for both troops and a visiting official: εἰς τῶν [ἐσο]μένην ἐπιδημίαν, *P. Oxy.* XII 1456.8-10 (284-286), an oath to appear before the prefect's court: ἡγεμόνι Μάρκῳ Αὐρηλίῳ [Σαλ] Διογένει ἐνθάδε εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημήσαν[τι], *P. Oxy.* L 3563.14 (early third century), maybe a visit by the prefect Claudius Claudianus: αὐτῷ παρεῖναι εὐτυχῶς ἐπιδημήσαντι, and *P. Duk.* inv. 169, a carbonized account including entries for payments of arrears for the visit of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/169.html> for a detailed catalogue record).

ii.11-17 (i.8-14) — τοῦ [κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος] Μάρκου [Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου] Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουλίας Μαμαίας Σεβ[αστῆς]: for the titulature see P. Büreth, *Les Titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. — 284 p.C.)* (*Pap. Brux.* 2, Bruxelles 1964), 110. Under the heading Ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός we can add *P. Stras.* VIII 731.6-7. For the emperor's title with καὶ Ἰουλία Μαμαία Σεβαστή appended see *SB* V 8312.4, *WChrest.* 41 and *P. Bad.* IV 89.12 (222-235).

ii.18-21 (i.14ff.) — ὁμνύω{ι} τὴν Αὐρηλί[ου] Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου τύχην: the occurrence of an oath in declarations such as this is standard¹⁴. Compare *WChrest.* 427 and 428 and *BGU* III 730 for oaths by suppliers of pigs from the Pharbaithite nome.

ii.21-24 — ἔχειν παρ' ἑμαυτῷ τοὺς συναθροισθέντας χοίρους ἀριθμῶ τεσσαράκο^ντα: see the commentary below on the possible implication of παρ' ἑμαυτῷ and the definite article τοῦς. Aurelius Onnophris may have had to keep the pigs at his house until the imperial visitors arrived, and forty pigs may have been the figure assigned to Paomis by the strategus.

ii.24-25 — ἐκ λιτρῶν(ν) \ν/ δισχειλ[ίων]: the scribe originally botched the phrase ἐκ λιτρῶν ν, γίνονται λίτραι δισχείλαι by a sort of haplography, but he corrected himself by inserting the numeral ν (50). We assume he originally wrote a genitive plural at the end of the line, but he may have corrected this to a nominative plural.

¹⁴ See E. SEIDL, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht I* (*Münch. Beitr.*, 17), München 1933, p. 79-85, on the promissory oaths of various liturgists. For a sample of parallel oath formulas see p. 15 n. 9. Μάρκου is also omitted from the oath formula in *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3097.13-16 and 3098.12-24 and *PSI* IX 1066.7-9. *C. Pap. Gr.* II 76.11-12 is somewhat erratic: it puts τοῦ κυρίου before Αὐρηλίου instead of Μάρκου. At the end we expect [Καίσαρος] with the now superfluous τοῦ κυρίου omitted rather than the editor's [Σεβαστοῦ].

COMMENTARY

Aurelius Onnophris alias Lykarion from Paomis in the Oxyrhynchite nome, is otherwise unknown. The fact that he himself and not the village scribe informs the strategus under oath that he has collected forty pigs suggests that he was appointed directly by the strategus. This would imply a different administrative structure behind the preparations for the visit of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea than the one attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome a century earlier when Hadrian visited Egypt. *SB* VI 9617¹⁵ attests a more stratified system of preparation:

- Ἀσκληπιάδῃ στρατηγῷ
παρὰ Ὀρίωνος κωμογρα(μματέως) Θώλθεως καὶ
Μουχιναρῷ τῆς κάτω τοπ(αρχίας).
4 γραφή τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μέ-
χρι εἰκάδος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς
Χοιὰκ ἡτοιμασμένων πρὸς παρου-
σίαν τοῦ μεγίστου Αὐτοκράτορος
8 Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κωμ[ογ]ραμματεῖς.

In this text the village scribe of Tholthis and Mouchinaryo informs the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome that all the various goods for the upcoming visit of the emperor Hadrian have been collected from the two villages under his control (note the expression ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς κωμο-γραμματείας)¹⁶. The sequence of events seems to be as follows: the prefect sends (a) a letter like the Michigan papyrus to the strategi and royal scribes of the various nomes instructing them to post the letter¹⁷ and to send (b) letters to the village scribes in their respective nomes instructing them to make sure that the villagers comply. Time passes and

¹⁵ See B.A. VAN GRONINGEN, *Preparatives to Hadrian's Visit to Egypt*, in *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II, Milano 1957, p. 253-256 = P.W. PESTMAN, *The New Papyrological Primer*, Leiden 1994², no. 34. For additional texts see P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, *A New Document Concerning Hadrian's Visit to Egypt*, *Historia* 18 (1969), p. 109-118 = *O. Leid.* 267, and *Another Document Concerning Hadrian's Visit to Egypt*, *ZPE* 89 (1991), p. 89-90. For doubts cast on assigning the first text published by Sijpesteijn to the visit of Hadrian see N. LEWIS, *Νοήματα λέγοντος*, *BASP* 8 (1971), p. 15-24, esp. 19-20.

¹⁶ B.A. VAN GRONINGEN, *art. cit.*, p. 255 (note to line 2), thinks that «it seems probable that the provisions are stored on behalf of the whole nome». It is difficult to imagine that the whole Oxyrhynchite nome managed to collect only 372 suckling pigs (*SB* VI 9617, line 12).

¹⁷ As the strategi and royal scribes are ordered to do in the Michigan papyrus: ἀντί-γραφο]ν τούτου δημοσίᾳ προθεῖναι ἐν τε ταῖς [μητροπόλεσι καὶ τοῖς τῶν νομῶν ἐπισημοτάτοις τόποις (*SB* XIV 16551, lines 6-7).

the village scribes send (c) letters like *SB* VI 9617 back to the strategi informing them of the progress made with the preparations.

This does not seem to be the sequence of events a century later. The preparations for the visit of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea attested by the Michigan and Duke papyri would fit the following scheme: the prefect (or in this case perhaps the *stratelates* Zeno Ianuarius)¹⁸ sends (a) a letter to the strategi and royal scribes instructing them to send (b) letters of appointment to *ad hoc epimeletai*¹⁹ for each item requisitioned. These *epimeletai* are directly accountable to the strategus. They collect what their villages are supposed to contribute²⁰ and send (c) letters such as the Duke text to the strategi. The Michigan papyrus repeats step (a). It was sent while the collections were already under way in answer to a previous letter sent through the epistrategus (note παρασκευαζομένων επιτηδείων in *SB* XIV 11651, line 1 and στρατηγοὶ ἔχοντες ἤδη ταῦτα συνθηροισμέ[να in lines 8-9). This matches exactly what we find in the Duke text: χοίρων τῆς παρασκευαζομένων in lines ii.8-9 and τοὺς συναθροισθέντας χοίρους in lines ii.22-23.

How the strategus appointed the *epimeletai* we do not know, but we may compare the preparations for the visit of Diocletian. In *P. Panop. Beatty* 1 (298) the strategus of the Panopolite nome does not deal directly with the collectors of the various goods, but acts through the president of the city council²¹. The strategus delegates the nomination of *epimeletai*, *apaitetai*, *diadotai*, and *apodektai* to him. They are nominated by the president, but they are appointed by the strategus to whom they may report directly. Aurelius Leonides likewise could have appointed Aurelius Onnophris, but in the 230s, when the Duke text was written, the city council was not yet the administrative instrument of

¹⁸ J.D. THOMAS - W. CLARYSSE, *art. cit.*, p. 197.

¹⁹ For other texts mentioning collectors for imperial visits see *O. Stras.* 452 (ἐπιτηρηται κριθῆς for Hadrian's visit), *O. Leid.* 267, and *P. Got.* 3 (a ἀλιεύς who is ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτοιμασίας γάρου τε καὶ ταρείχου λεπτοῦ καὶ ἰχθύος for Caracalla's visit).

²⁰ The amounts to be requisitioned were specified in a schedule published by the strategi on the prefect's order. In the Michigan papyrus the goods are to be collected κατ' ἰσότητα καὶ κατὰ τὸ δικαιότα[τον] (*SB* XIV 11651, lines 7-8). See also *P. Oxy.* LXI 4119 (ca. 270), where the villages are supposed to supply pigs for the military *annona* (lines 7-9) κατὰ τὴν τεταγμένην ἐκάστη κόμη ποσότητα.

²¹ See, e.g., *P. Panop. Beatty* 1.iii.53-56: προέδρῳ. εἰς τ[ὰς] κελευσθείσας ἀποτεθῆναι ἀνν[ών]ας ἐν διαφόρ[ο]ις τ[ό]ποις πρ[ὸς] τὴν εὐτυχῶς ἐσομένην ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ δεσπ[ό]του ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτο[ρος] Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Σεβαστοῦ ἡπαξ καὶ δεύτε[ρ]ο[ν] ἐπέστιλά σοι ὡς τάχ[ος] ἀποδέκτας ἐλέ[σθαι] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιμελητάς τῶν εἰδῶν [τῶν] εἰσιόντων γενναι[ω]τάτων στρατιωτῶν.

choice that it later became²². A century earlier in *P. Lond.* III 1159 the strategus of the Hermopolite nome appointed the *epimeletai* nominated by the scribes of Hermopolis itself. It is likely that in case of *epimeletai* from the villages in his nome the strategus would have had the village scribes draw up lists of candidates from which he could select the *epimeletai* of his choice²³. It is possible that for both Hadrian's and Severus Alexander's visit the *epimeletai* of the various goods were required to send in their individual reports to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome (as in the Duke text) and that the village scribes had to send in cumulative reports (as in *SB* VI 9617). This would allow the strategus to check the veracity of the various statements coming from the villages without having to visit and count the goods himself²⁴. In any case the Duke text represents a small but significant segment of an otherwise unattested paper trail left by the preparations for the visit of the emperor Severus Alexander and his mother Iulia Mamaea.

The most intriguing feature of the Duke text is that it gives not only the number of pigs but also their weight. It is possible that in his letter to the village scribes — or the *epimeletai* directly — the strategus specified both the number and weight of the pigs required from each village, in the case of Paomis forty pigs (note the use of the definitive article τοῦς in line ii.22). By specifying the weight as well the strategus would prevent the collection of only underweight specimens and make a fair remuneration of those who provided the animals possible — if any remuneration was to take place²⁵. It is not certain how Aurelius Onnophris established the weight of the pigs, but the fact that he uses a round figure, fifty pounds (line ii.25), as an average suggests that he estimated the weight by looking at the pigs. Aurelius Onnophris may have been assigned the job of collecting the pigs because he had an experience eye. In Roman legal

²² See *P. Oxy.* XII 1405, *WChrest.* 401, and A.K. BOWMAN, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (*Am. Stud. Pap.*, 11), Toronto 1971, p. 39-40, 75, 79-80, and 122, for the overlap in responsibilities and close association of the strategus and the city council in third-century Egypt.

²³ As in the case of a visit of a prefect in *P. Petaus* 45-47. For the role of the village scribes see also *PSI* VI 683.

²⁴ On the organization of the requisitions for imperial visits in general see H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 82-85.

²⁵ There is little evidence that deliveries for imperial visits were actually paid for. Cf. H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83, and A.K. BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 79. See also *P. Oxy.* LXI 4119 (pigs) and *PSI* VII 797 R^o (barley for the campaign in Persia in 232) for payments for deliveries for the military *annona*. On the last-mentioned text see G. BASTIANINI - J.D. THOMAS, *PSI* VII 797, *ZPE* 27 (1977), p. 165-177, esp. 167-174.

texts of the fourth century this way of establishing the weight of pigs was gradually replaced with a more complicated way: weighing pigs on a scale²⁶. There is no evidence for the latter in papyri²⁷. Texts concerning the military *annona* give the weight of the meat where pickled pork is concerned²⁸, but they give the number of animals when live pigs are concerned. Our text seems to be unique in providing both.

Fifty pounds (17.5 kilograms) does not seem an unreasonable average weight for the kind of small pigs prevalent in ancient and modern Egypt. Because for the majority of the population of modern Egypt pigs are anathema, they are to be found only in Coptic villages where they roam freely in and especially around town in search of food²⁹. There has been no effort to breed larger pigs and so the lean pigs found in Egypt today presumably resemble the pigs of ancient Egypt³⁰. The total number of

²⁶ *Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.2 (324): *in arbitrio suo possessor habeat, ne suario pecuniam solvat, quod ideo permissum est, ne in aestimando porcorum pondere licentia suariis praebetur. quod si iuste porcos suarius aestimaverit, huic pecuniam possessor, cui pensationis utriusque copia est indulta, numerabit* (in Pharr's translation: «The landholder shall have freedom of choice as to whether he should pay money to the swine collector. This choice is permitted him, so that unrestrained freedom may not be granted to the swine collectors in making their estimates as to the weight of the hogs. But if a swine collector should justly estimate the hogs, the landholder should have the right to pay money to him, since he has the right granted to him of both types of payment»). This title is mainly concerned with the difficulties in establishing what the going rate for pigs is at a certain time and place in Italy. Next comes *Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.4.2 (367): *quibus in rebus illud quoque a decessore tuo salubriter institutum est, quo suariis aestimandi licentia denegetur pondusque porcorum trutinæ examine, non oculorum libertate quaeratur, ita videlicet, ut ne volenti quidem possessori tradere animal liceat, cuius modum non prius ponderatione certa deciderit suarius. animal vero a possessore tradendum ob digeriem prius unius noctis tantum ieiunitate vacuetur* (again in Pharr's translation: «In these matters also a salutary regulation was instituted by your predecessor, whereby the license of estimating the weight is denied to swine collectors, and the weight of the hogs is sought by the tongue of the balance and not by the liberty of ocular estimate. Thus, of course, no landholder shall be allowed, even voluntarily, to deliver an animal whose weight the swine collector has not previously determined by reliable weighing. But the landholder must deliver the animals in such a way that for the digestion of their food the hogs should previously be emptied by an imposed fast for one night only»). The last sentence implies that some owners stuffed their pigs to increase their weight artificially.

²⁷ See, however, *P. Oxy.* LXI 4119, where the *hypomnematographos* promises to weigh the pigs σὺν τῷ δικάϊῳ. This could be a reference to some kind of weighing device. The editor regards the expression as equivalent to δικάϊως (cf. *iuste* in the first legal passage quoted in the preceding footnote).

²⁸ E.g., *PSI* VII 797 V^o, on which see G. BASTIANINI - J.D. THOMAS, *art. cit.*, p. 174-177

²⁹ Personal observation by one of the undersigned.

³⁰ On pigs in ancient Egypt see J. BOESSNECK, *Die Tierwelt des alten Ägypten*, München 1988, p. 77, and S. IKRAM, *Choice Cuts (OLA, 69)*, Leuven 1995, p. 29-33. For a more general study see B. HESSE, *Husbandry, Dietary Taboos and the Bones of the*

pigs raised in modern Egypt is necessarily much lower than it was in antiquity, but what happened during World War II suggests that the production of pigs is extremely elastic and can adapt to higher demand on short notice. The presence of British and other foreign troops in Egypt in the 40s correlates with an increased number of pigs³¹. In antiquity therefore imperial visits and the presence of an army that partly fed on pork did not reduce the consumption of pork on the part of the natives. They simply raised more pigs, much as their descendents did in the 1940s.

Finally, how did the weight of the pigs at the time they were collected relate to the weight they were required to have when the emperor and his retinue needed them? This is not an insignificant question, because *SB VI 9617* was filed some nine months before the emperor Hadrian travelled up the Nile³². There are several possibilities. The pigs could be rounded up and transported to the emperor's residence, either Alexandria or one of the nome capitals³³. The pigs could also be instantly slaughtered and pickled or otherwise preserved. It is not clear how long pickled meat kept in antiquity, but it was regularly collected for imperial and other important visitors³⁴ and for the military *annona*³⁵. *SB VI 9617*, however, suggests a rather different scenario. Since the 372 *choiridia* listed were collected nine months in advance, it seems as if they were purposely collected while still *choiridia*, so that by the time the emperor arrived in the Oxyrhynchite nome they would be full-grown and ready for slaughter. It takes about a year for pigs to become full-grown and they are rarely allowed to survive another year before they are slaughtered. This implies that the *choiridia* in *SB VI 9617* were kept

Ancient Near East: Zooarchaeology in the Post-processual World, in *Methods in the Mediterranean (Mnemosyne Supplementum, 135)*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1995, p. 197-232. For data on pigs in Graeco-Roman Egypt see M. SCHNEBEL, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten (Münch. Beitr., 7)*, München 1925, p. 328-331, and L. KEIMER, *Remarques sur le porc et le sanglier dans l'Égypte ancienne, BIE 19* (1937), p. 147-156.

³¹ See R.L. MILLER, *Hogs and Hygiene, JEA 76* (1990), p. 125-140, esp. 135. Mass tourism has had a similar effect in recent years. See F.N. IBRAHIM, *Ägypten. Eine geographische Landeskunde (Wissenschaftliche Länderkunden, 42)*, Darmstadt 1996, p. 109.

³² See H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

³³ See H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Importantly, Caracalla did not banish traders in pigs from Alexandria along with other Egyptians in *P. Giss.* 40 ii, on which see most recently K. BURASELIS, *Zu Caracallas Strafmassnahmen in Alexandrien (215/6), ZPE 108* (1995), p. 166-188.

³⁴ See, e.g., *P. Lond.* III 1159, a list of inspectors for a visit by the prefect Valerius Proculus (145-147), including some ἐπὶ χ[οι]ρίδι[ων] καὶ μύσχω(ν) καὶ κρη[εῶ]ν μύσχω(ν) καὶ κρη[εῶ]ν χυμείω(ν) (BL VI 63; lines 20-21).

³⁵ See the references in R.S. BAGNALL, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton 1993, p. 29.

and fed by whoever was in charge and this will also have been the case with the forty pigs in the Duke text (note the use of παρ' ἐμαυτῷ by Aurelius Onnophris in lines ii.21-22)³⁶. In that case the task of *epimeletes* involved more than collecting the pigs from his fellow-villagers and reporting to the strategus. He also had to provide for the regular feeding of the animals, in the case of the emperor Hadrian's visit even for a period of nine months. As usual the textual evidence by itself gives only an imperfect idea of what was going on.

Duke University

Peter VAN MINNEN & Joshua D. SOSIN

³⁶ According to U. WILCKEN, *APF* 4 (1908), p. 140 n. 1, ἔχειν παρ' ἐμαυτῷ is used in the papyri for «das Aufbewahren von fremdem Eigentum».

L'EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI ET GENTIUM E LA POLITICA RELIGIOSA DI COSTANZO II

Fra i testi geografici dell' epoca tardoantica risalta, per la messe d'informazioni che offre, soprattutto sulla vita economica del mondo romano, l'*Expositio totius mundi et gentium*¹. Il testo che ci è conservato, con ogni probabilità una traduzione latina di un originale greco², è opera di un autore nativo delle regioni orientali dell' impero romano e dotato di una cultura limitata, forse un commerciante³; esso dev' essere datato sotto il regno di Costanzo II, che vi è ricordato come «sovrano del mondo» (*dominus orbis terrarum*)⁴, e il Rougé ha sostenuto con validi argomenti che fu composto e pubblicato fra il 359 e gli inizi del 360⁵.

¹ *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, Introduction, texte critique et traduction, notes et commentaire par J. ROUGÉ (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 124), Paris 1966. Si vedano inoltre la traduzione tedesca, con introduzione e più ampia e aggiornata bibliografia, di H.J. DREXHAGE, *Die Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, *MBAH* 2 (1983), p. 3-41; F. MARTELLI, *Introduzione alla «Expositio totius mundi»*. *Analisi etnografica e tematiche politiche in un' opera anonima del IV secolo*, Bologna 1982; C. MOLÉ, *Le tensioni dell' utopia. L'organizzazione dello spazio in alcuni testi tardoantichi*, in: *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità*, a cura di M. Mazza e C. Giuffrida, II, Roma 1985, p. 690-736.

² Cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 89-98 con discussione e bibliografia.

³ Cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 27-38 (con bibliografia), che lo considera originario della Mesopotamia e abitante a Tiro; si veda inoltre M. GIACCHERO, *Sardinia ditissima et valde splendidissima*, *Sandalion* 5 (1982), p. 224; diversamente soprattutto C. MOLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 705 ss.

⁴ *Expositio* 28, p. 160 Rougé. Si ricordi, a testimonianza dell' aderenza alla terminologia ufficiale, la notizia di Ammiano Marcellino (XV 1, 3), secondo cui Costanzo, nelle sue lettere, si autodefiniva *orbis totius dominus*; cfr. L. CRACCO RUGGINI, «*Felix temporum reparatio*»: realtà socio-economiche in movimento durante un ventennio di regno (Costanzo II Augusto, 337-361 d.C.), in: *L'Église et l'Empire au IV^e siècle* (*Entretiens Fondation Hardt*, 34), Vandœuvres-Genève 1989, p. 181ss.

⁵ J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 9-21; cfr. anche F. MARTELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 24 ss.; H.J. DREXHAGE, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 4; A. DEMANDT, *Die Spätantike*, München 1989, p. 21. Rougé considera come *terminus post* lo scoppio della guerra contro i Persiani (ricordata in *Expositio* 36, p. 172) e come *terminus ante* la proclamazione ad Augusto di Giuliano nel febbraio 360, dopo la quale l'autore non avrebbe più potuto considerare Costanzo *dominus orbis terrarum*. Questo secondo termine dev' essere tuttavia, a mio avviso, considerato con maggiore elasticità, dato il notevole lasso di tempo necessario, soprattutto in periodo invernale, per la trasmissione anche di notizie di tale importanza politica alle province orientali (cfr. ad es., per l'Egitto, R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge 1990, p. 7-29): lo stesso Costanzo apprese la proclamazione

L'opera, per il suo interesse particolare verso le attività produttive e commerciali del mondo romano, è stata ampiamente utilizzata e studiata soprattutto sotto l'aspetto della storia economica; ma, a mio avviso, essa presenta anche altri motivi d'interesse, in particolare sul piano della politica religiosa, che sono stati del tutto trascurati. L'autore è infatti con ogni evidenza un pagano, come dimostrano i frequenti accenni alle divinità, alla loro immanenza e ai loro culti nelle città⁶ e il suo completo silenzio sul cristianesimo. Proprio questo interesse per i culti e la personalità dell'autore, un individuo di condizione media sul piano culturale ed intellettuale, rendono a mio avviso di particolare interesse la sua testimonianza, che vale a gettar luce sulle reazioni provocate dalla politica religiosa di Costanzo II, imperatore cristiano, favorevole all'arianesimo e fortemente ostile ai culti pagani⁷.

Punto di partenza per la nostra analisi è la trattazione, la più estesa di tutto lo scritto, che l'autore dedica all'Egitto, di cui descrive la notevole prosperità, ma sottolinea, ancor più ampiamente, gli aspetti religiosi. Egli nota infatti che l'Egitto produce in abbondanza tutti i prodotti della terra, eccetto l'olio, ma genera anche uomini nobili, che si distinguono per il loro attaccamento alla religione; in nessun altro luogo le cerimonie religiose vengono celebrate come nell'Egitto, che ha insegnato al mondo il culto degli dèi⁸, e l'autore conferma questa preminenza degli Egiziani rispetto agli stessi Caldei sul piano della devozione ai culti in base alla propria esperienza diretta, in occasione di un suo soggiorno in

di Giuliano solo nella primavera del 360, quando si trovava a Cesarea di Cappadocia (Amm. Marc. XX 9. 1) e la notizia della morte di Costanzo, avvenuta il 3 novembre a Mopsucrene, in Cilicia, raggiunse Alessandria il 30 novembre (*Hist. aceph.* 2.8 [*Sources Chrétiennes*, N° 317], Paris 1985, p. 148).

⁶ Cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 48-55, con interessanti osservazioni sul carattere della religiosità dell'autore.

⁷ Sulla politica religiosa di Costanzo cfr. in partic. J. MOREAU, *Constantinus II., Constantius II., Constans*, *JbAC* 2 (1959), p. 167ss.; A. PIGANIOL, *L'Empire chrétien (325-395)*, Paris 1972², p. 105ss.; R. KLEIN, *Constantius II und die christliche Kirche*, Darmstadt 1977; W.H.L. FREND, *The Rise of Christianity*, London 1984, p. 534ss.; A. DEMANDT, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 87ss.

⁸ *Expositio* 34, p. 168: ... *fert... viros similiter nobiles, deos colentes eminenter: nusquam enim deorum mysteria sic perficitur quomodo ibi ab antiquo et usque modo, et paene ipsa omni orbi terrarum tradidit deos colere* («genera... allo stesso modo uomini nobili, che si segnalano nell'adorare gli dèi: in nessun altro luogo, infatti, i misteri degli dèi vengono celebrati come lo sono là dai tempi più antichi e fino ad oggi e l'Egitto ha insegnato quasi a tutto il mondo a venerare gli dèi»). Quest'ultima convinzione era diffusa all'epoca, come dimostra l'analoga affermazione di Ammiano Marcellino (XXII 16.20); sui rapporti fra l'*Expositio* e Ammiano cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 73ss.

Egitto, tanto da affermare che gli dèi vi abitano ancora⁹. Dopo aver accennato allo sviluppo culturale dell' Egitto, in particolare nel campo della filosofia, egli passa a trattare della città di Alessandria, notandone la grande importanza commerciale, ma sottolineando anche l'attaccamento della popolazione ai culti pagani e, in maniera particolarmente dettagliata, l'importanza del tempio di Serapide e la devozione che lo circondava¹⁰. Egli delinea quindi l'importanza della produzione egiziana, in particolare per quel che riguarda il papiro, indispensabile per l'amministrazione pubblica e per gli affari dei privati, e il grano, frutto dell' abbondanza provocata dalle inondazioni del Nilo, che serve ad approvvigionare sia Costantinopoli, sia le province orientali, soprattutto a seguito della presenza dell' esercito imperiale per la guerra contro i Parti,

... propterea non posse aliam provinciam sufficere nisi divinam Aegyptum. Quem et nominans a diis plus esse puto, ubi deos, uti prae-diximus, colentes bene historias maxime <eis> offerunt. Et sunt sacra omnia et templa omnibus ornata; aeditimi enim et sacerdotes et ministri et aruspices et adoratores et divini optimi abundant; et fit omnis ordine: aras itaque invenies semper igne splendentes et sacrificiorum et ture plenas, vittas simul et turibula plena aromatibus divinum odorem spirantia in>ven<ies>¹¹.

⁹ *Expositio*, loc. cit.: *Dicunt autem Chaldeos melius colere, tamen quos vidimus miramur et in omnibus primos esse dicimus. Etenim ibi deos habitasse aut et habitare scimus* («Si dice, certo, che i Caldei li adorino meglio, ma noi ammiriamo quelli che abbiamo visti ed affermiamo che sono i primi in tutto. In effetti, sappiamo che gli dèi hanno abitato là e vi abitano ancora»). Cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 30 e 260; F. MARTELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 81-82.

¹⁰ *Expositio* 35, p. 170: *Et dii coluntur eminenter et templum Serapidis ibi est, unum et solum spectaculum novum in omni mundo: nusquam enim terra aut edificium <tale> aut dispositio templi <talīs> aut religio talis invenitur* («Gli dèi vi sono venerati in maniera straordinaria e vi è un tempio di Serapide che è uno spettacolo davvero unico al mondo: in nessun luogo infatti sulla terra si può trovare un simile edificio o un tempio con una pianta così artistica o un' analoga devozione»). Per l'accenno immediatamente successivo al *Musium* in quanto riferito al Museo e non al tempio di Serapide cfr. giustamente J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 263.

¹¹ *Expositio* 6, p. 172-74: «... perciò non può bastarvi nessun' altra provincia se non il divino Egitto. Credo, nel ricordarlo, che esso debba la propria prosperità agli dèi, poiché là, come abbiamo detto, gli abitanti venerano bene gli dèi ed offrono loro soprattutto raffigurazioni. Vi sono tutti i generi di luoghi sacri e templi dotati di tutto: sono infatti numerosi i custodi, i sacerdoti, i ministri del culto, gli aruspici, gli adoratori e gli ottimi indovini. Tutto si svolge secondo il rito: perciò vi troverai altari sempre illuminati dal fuoco e pieni di vittime sacrificali e d'incenso, bende e insieme incensieri pieni d'aromi, che esalano un profumo divino». Per il significato di *historiae* cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 265-266.

L'autore considera qui la ricchezza e la prosperità produttiva dell'Egitto conseguenze dirette della profonda devozione dei suoi abitanti ai culti pagani: la ricca produzione del papiro, di cui beneficia l'amministrazione imperiale, e quella del grano, necessaria all'approvvigionamento di Costantinopoli e delle province orientali, ma anche indispensabile allo sforzo bellico contro i Persiani, vengono dunque fatte dipendere anch'esse da questa devozione, che si estrinseca nella fedeltà ai riti pagani e nella loro celebrazione con il massimo splendore. E' inoltre da notare che il gran numero e lo zelo dei sacerdoti, degli aruspici e degli indovini, che in altre fonti è un motivo topico dello *psogos* contro gli Egiziani¹², costituisce invece, per l'autore dell'*Expositio*, un elemento fortemente positivo.

Questo elogio della religione pagana e soprattutto dei suoi aspetti culturali, presentati come indispensabili alla prosperità dell'Egitto e alle stesse necessità dell'amministrazione e dell'esercito imperiali, mi sembra assumere un significato particolare, se teniamo conto delle disposizioni di Costanzo appunto contro i culti pagani e dei loro effetti¹³. In particolare, il 19 febbraio 356 l'imperatore aveva emanato un editto con cui vietava, sotto pena di morte, la celebrazione dei sacrifici pagani e l'adorazione degli idoli¹⁴; un altro editto, del 1° dicembre dello stesso anno, imponeva, sempre sotto pena di morte, la chiusura dei templi e il divieto di accedervi¹⁵. Nonostante la visita di Costanzo a Roma nella primavera del 357 avesse comportato, come vedremo, un mitigamento della

¹² Cfr. ad es. Curt. Ruf. IV 10.7; HA, *Quadr. tyr.* 7.4; 8.3; anche Tacito (*Hist.* I 11.1) considerava il fanatismo religioso fonte precipua della facilità dell'Egitto a ribellarsi.

¹³ *CTh.* XVI 10.2-6; cfr. J. GEFFKEN, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg 1929², p. 27ss.; K.L. NOETHLICH, *Die gesetzgeberischen Massnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des 4. Jhs. gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden*, diss. Köln 1971, p. 58ss.; A. DEMANDT, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 87s.; L. DE GIOVANNI, *Il libro XVI del Codice Teodosiano*, Napoli 1985, p. 128ss.

¹⁴ *CTh.* XVI 10.6: *Poena capitis subiugari praecipimus esse, quos operum sacrificiis dare vel colere simulacra constiterit* («Ordiniamo che siano sottoposti alla pena capitale tutti coloro che siano riconosciuti colpevoli di compiere sacrifici o di adorare gli idoli»).

¹⁵ *CTh.* XVI 10.4: *Placuit omnibus locis adque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa et accessu vetito omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos sacrificiis abstinere...* («E' nostra volontà che in ogni luogo e in tutte le città vengano immediatamente chiusi i templi e, vietato l'accesso ad essi, sia negata a tutti gli scellerati la libertà di commettere colpe. Vogliamo inoltre che tutti si astengano dal compiere sacrifici...»). Per la datazione cfr. O. SEECK, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n.Chr.*, Stuttgart 1919, p. 41-42 e 202; A. PIGANIOL, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 88 n. 3 e p. 108. E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, éd. J.R. Palanque, I, Paris 1949, p. 132, preferisce invece mantenere la datazione al 346 dei mss., sulla base di Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* III 17.2, p. 131 Bidez-Hansen.

politica dell' imperatore, che non emanò più alcun provvedimento contro i culti pagani e parve assumere un atteggiamento più conciliante, profanazioni, danneggiamenti e chiusure di luoghi di culto pagani, ad opera soprattutto di cristiani, sono attestate in varie località delle province orientali¹⁶.

Il rapporto fra la politica di Costanzo e la difesa, nell' *Expositio*, dei culti pagani, in particolare di quelli dell' Egitto, può essere ulteriormente precisato, a mio avviso, se si tengono presenti le considerazioni che, in questo scritto, seguono immediatamente il passo che abbiamo esaminato, relativo agli effetti della devozione degli Egiziani sulla prosperità del loro paese. L'autore, in effetti, tratteggia così l'atteggiamento degli Alessandrini nei confronti dei governanti locali:

Iam et civitatem iudicibus bene regentem invenies: in contemptum se <facile movet> solus populus Alexandriae: iudices enim in illa civitate cum timore et tremore intrant, populi iustitiam timentes: ad eos enim ignis et lapidum emissio ad peccantes iudices non tardat¹⁷.

Ancora in questo caso la notazione della facilità della popolazione dell' Egitto alle sommosse e del suo spirito indipendente corrisponde non solo alla realtà storica, ma anche ad una tradizione topica ampiamente diffusa¹⁸; ma da questa tradizione il nostro autore si distacca nettamente, a mio avviso, per l'opposta valutazione che offre della condotta degli Alessandrini. Mentre infatti nelle altre fonti antiche che aderiscono a questo 'topos' la facilità degli Egiziani alle sommosse è considerata in maniera nettamente negativa e viene frequentemente sottolineata la futilità dei motivi di tali rivolte¹⁹, l'autore dell' *Expositio*, con l'accento al timore dei governatori per la *iustitia* del popolo e al lancio di torce e di

¹⁶ Cfr. Greg. Naz., *Or.* IV 88 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, N° 309, p. 220); Liban., *Epist.* 740, Förster X, p. 667; Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* V 4.2, p. 197; 10.8, p. 207; Theodoret., *Hist. eccl.* III 7.6, p. 183-184 Parmentier-Scheidweiler; Zonar. XIII 12.31-34, p. 63 Büttner-Wobst.

¹⁷ *Expositio* 37, p. 174: «Troverai infine che la città impone la sua volontà ai governatori; il popolo di Alessandria è il solo a muoversi facilmente a disprezzo. I governatori, infatti, vi fanno il loro ingresso con paura e palpitazione, temendo la giustizia del popolo, poiché presso di loro non si tarda a gettare torce e pietre contro i governatori responsabili di colpe».

¹⁸ Su cui cfr. in partic. I. CAZZANIGA, *Psogos ed epainos di Zenobia. Colori retorici in Vopisco e Pollione (H.A.)*, *PP* 27 (1972), p. 169-174.

¹⁹ Cfr. ad es. Tac., *Hist.* I 11.1; Amm. Marc. XXII 6.1; 11.4; HA, *Tyr. trig.* 22.1-3; *Quadr. tyr.* 7.4-5; 8.1; Socrat., *Hist. eccl.* VII 13.2, p. 357 Hansen; J. MARLOW, *The Golden Age of Alexandria*, London 1971, p. 145-146; F. THELAMON, *Païens et chrétiens au IV^e siècle. L'apport de l'«Histoire ecclésiastique» de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris 1981, p. 246-247.

pietre *ad iudices peccantes*, rivela chiaramente, a mio avviso, un giudizio del tutto opposto, in base al quale le sommosse degli Alessandrini vengono giustificate con le colpe commesse appunto dai governanti inviati presso di loro²⁰.

Questo giudizio mi sembra poi assumere un significato particolare, se teniamo presente che le sommosse attestate ad Alessandria durante il regno di Costanzo II ebbero tutte motivi essenzialmente religiosi, ricollegandosi da un lato alle lotte fra cristiani ortodossi, ariani e meliziani²¹, dall'altro alla persecuzione contro i culti pagani, confortata appunto dalle misure promulgate da Costanzo. In particolare, il vescovo ariano Giorgio, insediato ad Alessandria il 24 febbraio 357 grazie all'appoggio di Costanzo e del suo *dux* Silvano²², è noto per il suo accanimento non solo contro i cristiani ortodossi, seguaci di Atanasio, ma anche contro i templi e i culti pagani²³; la reazione pagana non dovette essere affatto estranea alla sommossa che, alla fine di agosto del 358, costrinse Giorgio a fuggire da Alessandria²⁴. Il ritorno del vescovo ad Alessandria nel novembre 361, poco dopo la morte di Costanzo, provocò nuove sommosse, a seguito delle quali Giorgio fu dapprima imprigionato, poi ucciso il 24 dicembre, ad opera dei pagani inferociti²⁵; insieme a lui furono uccisi due funzionari imperiali, odiati l'uno per aver fatto distruggere un tempio recentemente costruito nella zecca, l'altro per offese contro i culti pagani²⁶. Durante l'assenza di Giorgio, inoltre, il nuovo *dux Aegypti*, Flavio Arte-

²⁰ Non ritengo dunque accettabile l'opinione di J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 31, che proprio in questo passo ravvisa uno degli argomenti per escludere che l'autore fosse originario di Alessandria, dato «son scandale manifeste devant l'esprit par trop seditieux des habitants de la ville» (cfr. anche M. CALTABIANO, *L'assassinio di Giorgio di Cappadocia (Alessandria, 361 d.C.)*, *QC* 7, 1985, p. 19).

²¹ Cfr. ad es. M. SIMONETTI, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo*, Roma 1975, p. 110ss.; C.W. GRIGGS, *Early Egyptian Christianity from its Origins to 451 C.E.*, Leiden 1990, p. 144ss.; T.D. BARNES, *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*, Cambridge (MA) – London 1993, p. 20ss.

²² Athanas., *Hist. Ar.* 48.1-2, p. 211 Opitz; *Hist. aceph.* 2.2 (*Sources chrétiennes*, N° 317, Paris 1985, p. 144); *Index siriano delle Lettere festali* di Atanasio (ivi, p. 257).

²³ Amm. Marc. XXII 11.7; Socrat., *Hist. eccl.* III 2.1-5, p. 193; Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* IV 30.1-2, p. 187; V 7.4-6, p. 202.

²⁴ *Hist. aceph.* 2.3, p. 146; *Index siriano delle Lettere festali* di Atanasio, ivi, p. 259. Per la responsabilità anche dei pagani in questa sommossa cfr. ad es. M. SIMONETTI, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 227.

²⁵ Cfr. in partic. M. CALTABIANO, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 17-59, con ampia bibliografia; E.D. HUNT, *Christians and Christianity in Ammianus Marcellinus*, *CQ* N.S. 35 (1985), p. 191-193; C.W. GRIGGS, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 144-145.

²⁶ Amm. Marc. XXII 11.9; cfr. *Hist. aceph.* 2.10 (*Sources chrétiennes*, N° 317, p. 148).

mio, aveva svolto un' azione antipagana in linea con gli intenti di Giorgio: le fonti cristiane attestano infatti che egli... *πλεῖστα τῶν εἰδώλων συνέτριψε*²⁷ e una lettera inviata dall' imperatore Giuliano agli Alessandrini subito dopo l'uccisione di Giorgio testimonia che Artemio, su istigazione di quest' ultimo, aveva occupato con le sue truppe il tempio di Serapide, ne aveva saccheggiato le statue e il tesoro e, quando gli Alessandrini erano accorsi a difenderlo, aveva lanciato contro di essi i suoi soldati²⁸. La vicenda, che valeva evidentemente anche a giustificare in parte l'uccisione di Giorgio, aveva provocato aspre reazioni e risentimenti fra i pagani ed, in effetti, Ammiano attesta che proprio le accuse degli Alessandrini provocarono in seguito l'esecuzione di Artemio²⁹.

Anche se non è possibile precisare l'esatto rapporto cronologico fra il saccheggio del tempio di Serapide e la composizione dell' *Expositio*³⁰, l'azione svolta da Giorgio contro i templi e i culti pagani, il suo pieno accordo con i *duces Aegypti*, prima Silvano, poi Artemio, e le iniziative di quest' ultimo contro il paganesimo sono tutti elementi che valgono, a mio avviso, ad attribuire un significato particolare sia alla difesa, nell' *Expositio*, dei culti pagani e della loro importanza per la prosperità dell' Egitto e per gli interessi dello stesso impero, sia alla giustificazione delle sommosse contro i *peccantes iudices*. L'autore appare dunque animato da un sentimento di difesa della libertà dei culti pagani che, pur senza deprecare esplicitamente le minacce portate contro di essi, non mi sembra per questo meno significativo del suo preciso atteggiamento: pur non contestando minimamente l'autorità di Costanzo, tanto che altrove lo definisce *dominus orbis terrarum* e ne elogia l'impegno per l'ampliamento del porto di Seleucia³¹, egli difende l'importanza dei culti pagani e la loro utilità anche per l'impero, motivi essenziali per esigerne il rispetto.

²⁷ Theodoret., *Hist. eccl.* III 18.1, p. 197; Cedren. I, p. 537 Bekker; Theophan., *Chron.*, p. 51.14-16 de Boor («distrusse la maggior parte degli idoli»).

²⁸ Iulian., *Epist.* 60 Bidez (= Socrat., *Hist. eccl.* III 3.4-25, p. 194-196); cfr. Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* V 7.8-9, p. 203; Niceph. Call., *Hist. eccl.* X 7, PG CXLVI 456-460. Su questo episodio, che fu a mio avviso motivo essenziale dell' esecuzione di Artemio, decisa da Giuliano nel 362, cfr. G. MARASCO, *L'imperatore Giuliano e l'esecuzione di Fl. Artemio, 'dux Aegypti'*, di prossima pubblicazione in *Prometheus*.

²⁹ Amm. Marc. XXII 11.2; sulla data, assai discussa, dell' esecuzione, cfr. G. MARASCO, *art. cit.*

³⁰ Artemio è attestato come *dux Aegypti* l' 11 febbraio 360 (*P. Oxy.* VIII 1103 = U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomatie der Papyruskunde* I 1, Leipzig-Berlin 1912, N°. 465), ma è possibile che lo fosse già dall' anno precedente.

³¹ *Expositio* 28, p. 160; cfr. anche l'elogio della *imperatoris sapientia* nella difesa della Mesopotamia contro i Persiani (*Expositio* 22, p. 156).

L'intento apologetico verso i culti dell' Egitto può essere d'altra parte ricollegato, a mio avviso, anche ad un argomento particolare di polemica fra pagani e cristiani assai vivo ed attuale a quell' epoca. E' noto che gli Egiziani attribuivano al dio Serapide le piene del Nilo, indispensabili alla fertilità dell' Egitto, e conservavano nel tempio del dio il cubito che serviva a misurarle³². Costantino aveva cercato di combattere questa credenza, che suscitava profonda ostilità nei cristiani, ordinando che il cubito fosse trasferito in una chiesa cristiana; la sua decisione aveva provocato una fortissima polemica fra i pagani, timorosi che essa impedisse le piene del Nilo, e i cristiani, che invece si basavano sulle piene regolari che erano seguite per sostenere che questo fenomeno era dovuto non alle credenze pagane, ma alla provvidenza divina³³. La polemica e i risentimenti dei pagani si mantennero assai forti, tanto che Giuliano, appena divenuto unico imperatore, ordinò che il cubito fosse riportato nel tempio di Serapide³⁴. Se l'autore dell' *Expositio* aveva conoscenza di questa polemica, come sembra altamente credibile dati i suoi interessi religiosi e il suo soggiorno in Egitto, le sue affermazioni sulla particolare venerazione verso il culto di Serapide ad Alessandria e, soprattutto, sulla ricca produzione agricola dell' Egitto, che egli considera effetto delle piene del Nilo, ma ricollega subito dopo alla devozione degli Egiziani agli dèi³⁵, assumono un significato particolare: queste notizie valgono infatti a difendere ancora la credenza pagana che spiegava la prosperità dell' Egitto con la particolare devozione dei suoi abitanti, rimasta immutata nonostante l'asportazione sacrilega del cubito dalla sua sede e tale da garantire ancora il favore degli dèi, mediante la fedeltà ai riti e ai sacrifici ancestrali.

³² Cfr. D. BONNEAU, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne à travers mille ans d'histoire* (332 av.- 641 ap. J.-C.), Paris 1964, in partic. p. 319ss.; F.R. TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization*, c. 370-529, Leiden-New York-Köln, I, p. 135; R. MERKELBACH, *Isis regina — Zeus Sarapis*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1995, p. 102ss. e 151 per le conferme archeologiche; sul culto del Nilo, cfr. inoltre D. BONNEAU, *La divinité du Nil sous le principat en Egypte*, in: *ANRW* II 18.5 (1995), p. 3193ss.

³³ Socrat., *Hist. eccl.* I 18.2-3, p. 58; Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* I 8.5, p. 18; cfr. R. MERKELBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 319-320; per altre misure di Costantino contro il culto della piena del Nilo cfr. Euseb., *V. Const.* IV 25.2.

³⁴ Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* V 3.3, p. 195. La polemica restò assai viva fino almeno ai tempi di Teodosio, secondo il racconto di Rufino (*Hist. eccl.* XI 30, p. 1035-1036 Mommsen), che comunque testimonia anche la progressiva assimilazione nella religione cristiana del culto della piena del Nilo, come opera di Dio (cfr. D. BONNEAU, *La crue du Nil* [n. 32], p. 421ss.; F.R. TROMBLEY, *op. cit.* [n. 32], I, p. 143-144; R. MERKELBACH, *op. cit.* [n. 32], p. 322ss.).

³⁵ *Expositio* 36, p. 172.

L'intento apologetico a favore dei culti pagani non mi sembra, del resto, limitato al solo Egitto: già a proposito di Nicomedia, infatti, l'autore, dopo aver accennato brevemente alla ricchezza della città, ne ricorda la basilica, che era stata incendiata, a quanto si diceva, dal fuoco divino disceso dal cielo e poi ricostruita da Costantino³⁶. Questo accenno merita di essere attentamente esaminato, perché è, a mio avviso, essenziale proprio nell'ambito della polemica sulla tolleranza dei culti pagani. In effetti, l'incendio della basilica sotto Costantino, nel 333 o 334, è attestato dagli autori cristiani Teofane e Cedreno, secondo cui essa sarebbe stata distrutta *πυρὶ θείῳ*³⁷; in entrambe le fonti, la notizia segue significativamente quella relativa alle misure adottate da Costantino contro i templi pagani e i loro tesori. La tradizione cristiana interpretava dunque la distruzione della basilica, avvenuta con ogni probabilità in seguito a un incendio provocato da un fulmine, come effetto dell'ira di Dio contro i templi pagani e la cosa è tanto più comprensibile, a mio avviso, ove si consideri che in essa avevano avuto luogo interrogatori di cristiani poi martirizzati³⁸. L'autore dell'*Expositio*, pur accettando la spiegazione dell'incendio come effetto di un fulmine inviato dalla divinità, che era del tutto confacente alle sue credenze pagane, ha tuttavia modificato nettamente il significato della vicenda, mettendo invece in rilievo la ricostruzione della basilica ad opera di Costantino: in tal modo, l'episodio vale a sottolineare la tolleranza del fondatore dell'impero cristiano e padre di Costanzo II verso i culti pagani ed il suo impegno per la restaurazione di un tempio distrutto.

³⁶ *Expositio* 49, p. 184: *Nicomedia vero et ipsa eminens et admirabilis est in omnibus abundans; et habens opus publicum optimum basilicam antiquam, qua divinum ignem de caelo descendisse et combussisse eam dicunt, et condita est postea a Constantino* («Nicomedia, invero, è anch'essa una città insigne e mirabile, che abbonda di tutto. Ha un bellissimo edificio pubblico, un'antica basilica che dicono sia stata incendiata dal fuoco divino disceso dal cielo; essa è stata in seguito ricostruita da Costantino»).

³⁷ Theophan., *Chron.*, p. 29.11; Cedren. I, p. 518.

³⁸ Cfr. J. MOREAU, *Lactance. De la mort des persécuteurs*, II (*Sources chrétiennes*, N° 39), Paris 1954, p. 246, sulla base del Martirio di S. Agatonico (*Acta Sanctorum Augusti*, coll. a I. Pinio, G. Cupero, ed. novissima curante J. Carnandet, Parisiis et Romae 1867, p. 522; se ne veda però l'edizione completa di G. VAN HOOFF, *Acta Sancti Agathonici martyris et sociorum*, *Anal. Boll.* 2 [1883], p. 103, l. 10), morto sotto Massimiano (cfr. F. HALKIN, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* [*Subsidia Hagiographica*, N° 8a], Bruxelles 1957³, p. 12). E' invece erroneo il rinvio del Moreau al più antico Martirio di Artemio (in: *Philostorgius. Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. J. Bidez – F. Winckelmann, Berlin 1972, p. 171): questa testimonianza si riferisce infatti, in realtà, alla basilica di Antiochia, dove si svolse il processo di Artemio.

In questa prospettiva, si può forse proporre, a mio avviso, una nuova soluzione ad un problema assai dibattuto, quello del silenzio dell' autore dell' *Expositio* sul recente terremoto che, nell' agosto del 358, aveva distrutto Nicomedia, facendo strage dei suoi abitanti; le enormi distruzioni provocate da questo terremoto³⁹, tali che ancora nel 362 la città era in completa rovina⁴⁰, rendono infatti sorprendente tale silenzio, tanto che proprio su di esso alcuni si sono basati per sostenere una datazione più alta dell' *Expositio*⁴¹. Il Rougé ha cercato di spiegare questo silenzio postulando che l'autore non avesse conoscenza delle esatte dimensioni della catastrofe e, basandosi su una fonte scritta anteriore al terremoto, ne abbia riprodotto i dati, senza preoccuparsi del fatto che essi non corrispondevano alla situazione attuale della città, che, in ogni modo, avrebbe potuto essere ricostruita in tutto il suo splendore⁴². Questa spiegazione mi sembra tuttavia scarsamente credibile, se teniamo presenti sia l'ampiezza della catastrofe di Nicomedia, sia la profonda impressione che essa provocò in tutto l'Oriente romano, attestata soprattutto dalla narrazione di Ammiano Marcellino e dalle lettere e dalla monodia composta da Libanio⁴³ in quell' occasione; difficilmente un contemporaneo vissuto in ambiente orientale avrebbe potuto ignorare o sminuire l'episodio. Inoltre, lo stesso Libanio testimonia i gravissimi danni provocati ai commerci dalla distruzione di Nicomedia e del suo porto⁴⁴, elemento che ben difficilmente poteva essere trascurato da una fonte, come il nostro autore, interessata appunto soprattutto ai commerci.

Una spiegazione del silenzio sul terremoto del 358 può essere proposta piuttosto, a mio avviso, proprio tenendo conto del particolare interesse dell' autore dell' *Expositio* per la sorte della basilica di Nicomedia: è credibile infatti che questa sia stata distrutta dal terremoto, dal momento che Libanio lamenta la rovina dei luoghi di culto⁴⁵. Menzionare questo effetto del terremoto sarebbe stato controproducente per gli intenti dell' autore dell' *Expositio*, poiché avrebbe sminuito il valore del gesto compiuto da Costantino e la nuova distruzione della basilica

³⁹ Cfr. Amm. Marc. XVII 7.1-8; Liban., *Or.* LXI, Förster IV, p. 329-341; *Epist.* 388, Förster X, p. 379-380; 1184, XI, p. 272-273; *Consul. Constantinop.*, in: *MGH, Auct. Antiq.* IX, *Chron. Min.* I, p. 239; Socrat., *Hist. eccl.* II 39.2-3, p. 168-169.

⁴⁰ Amm. Marc. XXII 9.3-4.

⁴¹ Cfr. in proposito J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 11ss., con discussione e bibliografia.

⁴² J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 20.

⁴³ Cfr. *supra*, nota 39.

⁴⁴ Liban., *Or.* LXI 21, Förster IV, p. 340.

⁴⁵ Liban., *Or.* LXI 17, Förster IV, p. 338; cfr. anche Amm. Marc. XVII 7.8.

poteva ben essere interpretata dai nemici del paganesimo come un segno della disapprovazione divina per la sua ricostruzione; meglio valeva dunque, in questo caso, tacere del tutto il recente terremoto ed i suoi effetti sui templi pagani.

Elementi ancor più significativi sono poi riscontrabili nella descrizione di Roma, in cui l'autore dell' *Expositio* inserisce osservazioni estremamente interessanti sul piano religioso e, a mio avviso, legate alla particolare situazione del momento. Egli mette infatti in particolare rilievo la funzione delle Vestali, che compiono i loro riti in base al costume ancestrale, per la salute della città⁴⁶; il passo sembra riflettere l'impressione della recente visita a Roma di Costanzo, nel corso della quale l'imperatore aveva manifestato profonda ammirazione e rispetto per i templi pagani⁴⁷ e, adempiendo correttamente al suo ufficio di pontefice massimo, aveva mantenuto appunto i privilegi delle Vestali, designato i nobili che dovevano entrare a far parte dei collegi sacerdotali e concesso finanziamenti ai culti pagani⁴⁸. Questa condotta di Costanzo ebbe profonde ripercussioni, provocando da un lato una reviviscenza dei culti pagani a Roma, dall' altro una certa evoluzione della politica dello stesso imperatore, che da allora non promulgò più nessun editto contro il paganesimo⁴⁹.

L'evoluzione della politica di Costanzo ebbe conseguenze, d'altronde, anche per il miglioramento dei rapporti dell' imperatore con il senato di Roma, allora in netta maggioranza di fede pagana⁵⁰. L'autore dell' *Expositio*, da parte sua, mostra notevole rispetto per i senatori, che descrive

⁴⁶ *Expositio* 55, p. 192: *Sunt autem in ipsa Roma et virgines septem ingenuae et clarissimae, quae sacra deorum pro salute civitatis, secundum antiquorum morem, perficiunt, et vocantur virgines Vestae* («Vi sono inoltre in Roma stessa sette vergini di nascita libera e clarissime, che compiono le cerimonie in onore degli dèi per il bene della città, secondo il costume degli antichi, e sono chiamate vergini di Vesta»).

⁴⁷ Amm. Marc. XVI 10.14; Symm., *Rel.* 3.7.

⁴⁸ Symm., *loc. cit.*: *nihil ille decerpit sacrarum virginum privilegiis, replevit nobilibus sacerdotia. Romanis caerimoniis non negavit impensas...* («egli non tolse niente ai privilegi delle vergini sacre e riempì di nobili i collegi sacerdotali. Non rifiutò i finanziamenti ai culti romani...»).

⁴⁹ Cfr. ad es. A. PIGANIOL, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 110 e 116; R.O. EDBROOKE, Jr., *The Visit of Constantius II to Rome in 357 and its Effect on the Pagan Roman Senatorial Aristocracy*, *AJPh* 97 (1976), p. 40-61; D. VERA, *Commento storico alle 'Relationes' di Quinto Aurelio Simmaco*, Pisa 1981, p. 36. In particolare, sul rapporto di questa politica con l'inizio della coniazione dei contornati, cfr. S. MAZZARINO, *La propaganda senatoriale nel tardo impero*, *Doxa* IV (1951), p. 121ss.

⁵⁰ Cfr. ad es. M.T.W. ARNHEIM, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford 1972, p. 75ss.; R.O. EDBROOKE, *art. cit.* (n. 49), *passim*.

come uomini assai ricchi, che tutti sono stati, saranno o potrebbero essere governatori, ma accentra il suo interesse proprio sulla loro devozione verso gli dèi:

colunt autem et deos, ex parte Iovem et Solem; nec non et sacra Matris deum perficere dicunt, et aruspices ad eos <esse> certum est⁵¹.

Questo particolare interesse per le Vestali e per la devozione del senato verso gli dèi pagani mi sembra dunque assumere un particolare significato, valendo a sottolineare l'importanza della rinascita dei culti pagani a Roma e della tolleranza ivi dimostrata da Costanzo.

La menzione, indubbiamente elogiativa, del senato di Roma merita d'altro canto di esser messa in particolare evidenza, anche perché ad essa corrisponde un completo silenzio sul senato di Costantinopoli. Ora, se è indubbio che il senato di Roma ebbe sempre un prestigio assai più grande in virtù della sua maggiore antichità, è anche vero che quello di Costantinopoli, istituito da Costantino, ma opera soprattutto di Costanzo II, mediante una sistematica opera di reclutamento attuata proprio a partire dal 357⁵², costituiva una novità d'importanza essenziale proprio per quella parte orientale dell'impero della quale l'autore dell'*Expositio* era originario, e quindi tale che il silenzio su di esso parrebbe piuttosto un fatto intenzionale. Il senato di Costantinopoli si distingueva da quello di Roma perché composto in larga misura da persone non solo di origine non nobile, ma anche di fede cristiana⁵³; il silenzio su di esso potrebbe dunque essere ricondotto in parte anche all'aspetto religioso.

L'elemento più importante della notizia che l'autore dell'*Expositio* dedica al senato di Roma è comunque costituito, a mio avviso, dall'accenno, tanto più significativo proprio per il suo carattere di affermazione breve e recisa, al ricorso dei senatori all'aruspicina: ... *et aruspices ad eos <esse> certum est*. Quest'affermazione non è isolata: l'autore, che, come abbiamo visto, già prima aveva messo in rilievo il gran numero di *aruspices* e di *divini* attivi in Egitto, nell'ambito dell'elogio della devozione di quel paese agli dèi⁵⁴, riprende infatti ancora subito dopo il

⁵¹ *Expositio* 55, p. 194: «venerano anche gli dèi, fra i quali Giove e il Sole; si dice inoltre che compiano cerimonie sacre in onore della Madre degli dèi ed è certo che hanno presso di sé aruspici».

⁵² Cfr. soprattutto G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1974, p. 129ss.

⁵³ Cfr. P. PETIT, *Les sénateurs de Constantinople dans l'œuvre de Libanius*, AC 26 (1957), p. 347ss.; G. DAGRON, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 132ss.

⁵⁴ *Expositio* 36, p. 174.

tema, facendone l'unico argomento della sua descrizione della *Tuscia* (Etruria), da lui erroneamente considerata una città⁵⁵: egli afferma infatti che la *Tuscia* ha ricevuto il suo nome dagli dèi, poiché da essa

... aiunt ab origine inventam esse haruspiciam, et quod bonum deos esse dicebant. Nam et ipsa abundans omnibus bonis et hoc possidet maxime circa deos haruspicia multa, etenim huius rei certum ad eos esse dicitur⁵⁶.

In tutti e tre i passi l'autore mostra dunque di considerare l'aruspicina non solo un' arte veridica e attendibile, ma anche un elemento essenziale della religione, come tale riconosciuta e praticata sia dai senatori romani, che le conferiscono la sanzione del loro prestigio, sia dai popoli più famosi per la loro devozione e per la loro antica scienza religiosa, quali appunto gli Egiziani e gli Etruschi. Questo elogio dell' aruspicina è, a mio avviso, ancor più significativo e sorprendente della difesa dei culti pagani: mentre infatti quest' ultima poteva trovare un certo conforto nell' evoluzione della politica di Costanzo dopo la sua visita a Roma, tutt' altra cosa era, a quell' epoca, difendere la pratica dell' aruspicina.

Le osservazioni in proposito del Rougé, il quale ricorda che gli imperatori cristiani Costantino e Valentiniano I avevano consentito l'aruspicina, a patto che fosse praticata in pubblico e non arrecasse danno ad alcuno⁵⁷, non mi sembrano infatti accettabili, poiché la situazione era del tutto differente all' epoca in cui fu composta l'*Expositio*. Se già Costantino aveva adottato misure legislative, dirette soprattutto contro l'aruspicina privata⁵⁸, ben maggiore fu l'accanimento dimostrato da Costanzo, manifestatosi in una vera e propria mania persecutoria contro l'aruspicina⁵⁹, atte-

⁵⁵ Cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 35, 78-79 e 306; C. MOLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 703 n. 33.

⁵⁶ *Expositio* 56, p. 194: «... dicono che sia stata scoperta in origine l'aruspicina ed essi affermavano che gli dèi erano il Bene. In effetti, anch' essa abbonda di tutti i beni e possiede soprattutto una grande scienza dell' aruspicina riguardo ai presagi inviati dagli dèi, che si dice essere sicura presso di loro».

⁵⁷ J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 306; cfr. *CTh.* XVI 10.1; IX 16.9.

⁵⁸ Cfr. L. DE GIOVANNI, *Costantino e il mondo pagano*, Napoli 1983⁴, p. 15ss.; F. LUCREZI, *Costantino e gli aruspici*, AAN 97 (1986), p. 171-198; L. DESANTI, *Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas*, Milano 1990, p. 137-346; S. MONTERO, *Política y adivinación en el Bajo Imperio Romano: emperadores y harúspices (193 D.C.- 408 D.C.)*, Bruxelles 1991, p. 81ss.; F.R. TROMBLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 32), I, p. 60ss.

⁵⁹ Amm. Marc. XVI 8.2; cfr. in partic. H. FUNKE, *Majestäts- und Magieprozesse bei Ammianus Marcellinus*, JbAC 10 (1967), p. 148ss.; D. GRODZYNSKI, *Par la bouche de l'empereur*, in: AAVV, *Divination et rationalité*, Paris 1974, p. 272ss.; S. MONTERO, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p. 82ss.

stata in particolare da un editto del 25 gennaio 357, che vietava qualsiasi forma di divinazione, sotto la pena di morte, allora estesa anche a quanti avessero consultato aruspici e indovini⁶⁰. L'accanimento di Costanzo non venne meno neanche dopo la sua visita a Roma e la conseguente evoluzione della sua politica verso i culti pagani. L'imperatore anzi, lasciata Roma, emanò da Rimini, il 5 luglio 357, un nuovo editto, in virtù del quale tutti coloro che esercitavano la magia o qualsiasi forma di divinazione dovevano essere sottoposti alla tortura, anche se appartenenti al *comitatus* di Costanzo o a quello del Cesare Giuliano⁶¹. L'abolizione del privilegio dell'esenzione dalla tortura per i *comites* da un lato conferma il ricorso alle pratiche divinatorie anche negli strati più elevati della società e perfino presso la corte, dall'altro dimostra che l'atteggiamento di tolleranza allora assunto da Costanzo verso i culti pagani non comportava alcuna conseguenza nei confronti dell'aruspicina, che era anzi ancor più severamente perseguita⁶². Un chiaro esempio di questo atteggiamento si ebbe in seguito, con le feroci ed estese persecuzioni che furono attuate contro quanti consultavano l'oracolo di Besa, nella Tebaide: in quell'occasione, un tribunale speciale fu istituito a Scitopoli in Palestina, che si trovava a metà strada fra Antiochia e Alessandria, dalle quali provenivano la maggior parte degli accusati, e le condanne, numerose e pesanti, colpirono sia oscuri cittadini, sia intellettuali, sia esponenti della nobiltà e per-

⁶⁰ CTh. IX 16.4: *Nemo haruspicem consulat aut mathematicum, nemo hariolum. Augurum et vatum prava confessio conticescat. Chaldaei ac magi et ceteri, quos maleficos ob facinorum multitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas. Etenim supplicium capitis feret gladio ultore prostratus, quicumque iussis obsequium denegaverit* («Nessuno consulti un aruspice o un astrologo o un indovino. Taccia la perversa dottrina degli auguri e dei veggenti. I Caldei, i maghi e gli altri, che il popolo chiama *malefici* per la massa dei loro crimini, non tramino niente neppure in questo campo. Taccia per sempre in tutti la curiosità verso la divinazione. Infatti, chiunque non obbedirà a questi ordini subirà la pena capitale, abbattuto dalla spada vendicatrice»). Cfr. in partic. S. MONTERO, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p. 83; L. DESANTI, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p. 146-149.

⁶¹ CTh. IX 16.6: *... si quis... aut haruspex, aut hariolus aut certe augur vel etiam mathematicus aut narrandis somniis occultans artem aliquam divinandi aut certe aliquid horum simile exercens in comitatu meo vel Caesaris sit deprehensus, praesidio dignitatis cruciatus et tormenta non fugiat* («... qualunque aruspice o indovino o augure, od anche astrologo o chiunque nasconda qualche arte della divinazione mediante l'interpretazione dei sogni o eserciti qualsiasi attività analoga e sia scoperto nel mio seguito o in quello del Cesare, non sfuggirà alla tortura in virtù del suo rango»). Per la datazione dell'editto, che nei mss. è attribuito al 358, cfr. O. SEECK, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 83.

⁶² Si ricordi che lo stesso Giuliano, fino alla sua proclamazione ad Augusto, ebbe cura di fingersi cristiano, praticando solo in segreto l'aruspicina, nella quale fermamente credeva (Amm. Marc. XXI 2.4).

fino un ex prefetto d'Egitto⁶³. Questa vicenda, narrata da Ammiano poco dopo la caduta di Amida nelle mani dei Persiani, dovette aver luogo verso la fine del 359; essa fu dunque contemporanea alla composizione dell'*Expositio* e colpì particolarmente le popolazioni proprio di quelle regioni orientali, in particolare la Siria e l'Egitto, che costituivano l'ambiente in cui l'autore viveva e operava.

La difesa dell'aruspicina nell'*Expositio* assume dunque, a mio avviso, un significato polemico di forte rilievo proprio in rapporto a questi eventi contemporanei: se, infatti, l'elogio dei culti pagani, in particolare di quelli dell'Egitto, comportava una difesa di essi contro l'ostilità dei cristiani e dei funzionari locali, in un momento in cui l'atteggiamento di Costanzo sembrava essere un po' più tollerante⁶⁴, la difesa dell'aruspicina era invece in netto contrasto e in aperta polemica con le precise disposizioni dell'imperatore in materia e dev'essere a mio avviso compresa appunto come reazione alla persecuzione in atto contro l'aruspicina, che i pagani consideravano parte integrante della loro religione.

Al di là del problema particolare dell'aruspicina, l'atteggiamento dell'autore dell'*Expositio* resta comunque estremamente prudente: pur difendendo i culti pagani, egli non polemizza mai né con l'autorità imperiale né con il cristianesimo. Non mi sembrano in effetti convincenti le osservazioni del Rougé, che riscontra motivi di polemica anticristiana in un'ostilità dell'autore verso la memoria di Costantino, in quanto favorevole al cristianesimo, e nel suo silenzio sul tempio di Dafne presso Antiochia⁶⁵. Per quel che riguarda il primo punto, infatti, l'autore si limita ad affermare: *Constantinopolis autem omnia praecipua habere potest propter Constantinum*⁶⁶. Il passo non rispecchia, a mio avviso, alcuna ostilità verso Costantino, ma si limita a registrare il dato di fatto, inoppugnabile e ben noto, che la città doveva la sua condizione, in quanto fruitrice dei prodotti delle province orientali, appunto alle dispo-

⁶³ Amm. Marc. XIX 12.1-16; una scena di tortura legata a questi processi è descritta da Libanio (*Epist.* 112, Förster, X, p. 111).

⁶⁴ Lo stesso Giuliano (*Epist.* 60), in effetti, sia pure in conseguenza della propria esigenza contingente di difendere la memoria del suo predecessore, affermò in seguito che il saccheggio del tempio di Serapide era stato compiuto da Artemio «più per timore di Giorgio che di Costanzo».

⁶⁵ J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 55; per il primo argomento cfr. anche F. MARTELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 29.

⁶⁶ *Expositio* 50, p. 186: «Costantinopoli può ottenere tutto come prerogativa a causa di Costantino».

sizioni del suo fondatore; esso non manifesta alcuna traccia, del resto, delle polemiche, attestate nella tradizione pagana contemporanea, contro il saccheggio dei templi pagani attuato da Costantino per fondare la nuova capitale⁶⁷ e contro la sua decisione di raccogliervi una popolazione parassitaria ed eccessiva rispetto alle possibilità produttive della regione circostante⁶⁸, che anzi l'autore descrive come ... *dives in fructibus et maximos habens viros et fortes in bello*⁶⁹.

Quanto poi al silenzio sul tempio di Dafne nella descrizione di Antiochia, il Rougé ritiene che esso sia dovuto ad ignoranza o ad una precisa polemica anticristiana, per il desiderio di tacere i pellegrinaggi che si svolgevano allora alla tomba di S. Babila. Ma l'autore avrebbe ben potuto tacere questi pellegrinaggi, pur ricordando il tempio, mentre l'ignoranza mi sembra da escludere decisamente, date la fama del tempio e l'ottima conoscenza che l'autore mostra di avere della Siria e dei suoi culti. Converrà piuttosto ricordare che il Cesare Gallo, per distruggere il culto pagano a Dafne, vi aveva fatto seppellire le reliquie di alcuni martiri cristiani, fra cui Babila; il luogo sacro era stato così profanato, tanto che nel 362 Giuliano dovette provvedere a riconsacrarlo, facendone portar via le reliquie di Babila e purificandolo con cerimonie analoghe a quelle con cui gli Ateniesi avevano un tempo purificato Delo⁷⁰. Il tempio di Dafne era dunque, al momento in cui fu composta l'*Expositio*, profanato e chiuso al culto pagano⁷¹; l'autore aveva dunque

⁶⁷ Liban., *Or.* XXX 6, Förster III, p. 90; cfr. Iulian., *C. Her.* 228b-c; sulla polemica relativa cfr. M. MAZZA, *La storiografia ecclesiastica dopo Eusebio*, in: *Costantino il Grande dall' antichità all' Umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico* (Macerata, 18-20 dicembre 1990), a cura di G. Bonamente e F. Fusco, II, Macerata 1993, p. 679-681.

⁶⁸ Cfr. Eunap., *V. soph.* VI 2.7-10, p. 462-463.

⁶⁹ *Expositio*, loc. cit.: «... ricca di frutti e che ha uomini assai grandi e valorosi in guerra».

⁷⁰ Amm. Marc. XXII 12.8; cfr. Iulian., *Misopog.* 361b; Rufin., *Hist. eccl.* X 36, p. 996; Johann. Chrys., *De S. Babyla* 67-69 (*Sources chrétiennes*, N° 362), Paris 1990, p. 178-182); *Hom. de S. Babyla* 2ss. (ivi, p. 295ss.); Socrat., *Hist. eccl.* III 18.1-4, p. 213-14; Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* V 19.12ss., p. 223ss.; Theodoret., *Hist. eccl.* III 10.1-2, p. 286-287; Philostorg., *Hist. eccl.* VII 8^a, p. 88ss.; Zonar. XIII 12.35-42, p. 64-65; G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton (NJ) 1961, p. 364 e 387-388. Le fonti cristiane testimoniano la cessazione delle cerimonie pagane e il silenzio dell' oracolo dopo che Gallo aveva fatto trasferire a Dafne le reliquie di Babila; Giuliano (*Epist.* 80) attesta che i cristiani avevano perfino portato via le colonne dal tempio.

⁷¹ Il prodigio della nascita di un bambino mostruoso proprio a Dafne verso la fine del 359, che Ammiano (XIX 12.19) riferisce in relazione alla persecuzione contro l'oracolo di Besa, interpretandolo come preannuncio della rovina dell' impero, può ben essere stato considerato dai pagani anche un segno della condanna divina per la profanazione del culto locale.

due possibilità: o polemizzare per l'avvenuta profanazione contro i cristiani e, soprattutto, contro l'autorità imperiale, che ne era responsabile, oppure tacere l'esistenza stessa del tempio, ormai non più luogo di culto pagano. La scelta di questa seconda opzione mi sembra perfettamente in linea con l'atteggiamento complessivo dell'autore, che in nessun punto della sua opera manifesta polemiche per l'abbandono in cui versano culti pagani che pure erano stati importanti e venerati, ma che a quell'epoca erano in decadenza o erano stati oggetto di persecuzione⁷².

La cura di evitare la polemica diretta, pur difendendo in ogni modo i culti pagani, mi sembra evidente soprattutto nella notizia sul culto magnifico reso ad Afrodite dalle donne di Eliopoli, presso il monte Libano, dove si diceva che la dea abitasse e avesse donato la bellezza alle donne del luogo⁷³. Questa esaltazione del culto ancora reso alla dea assume, a mio avviso, un significato peculiare, se si tiene presente la situazione contemporanea: Costantino, infatti, aderendo a una polemica assai viva da parte dei cristiani, aveva imposto forti limitazioni al culto di Afrodite a Eliopoli, vietando in particolare la prostituzione sacra, ed aveva fatto distruggere il vicino tempio di Afrodite ad Afaca, sul monte Libano⁷⁴, al quale l'autore dell'*Expositio* sembra pure voler alludere, assimilandolo a quello di Eliopoli⁷⁵; i resti del tempio di Afaca erano stati inoltre riutilizzati per costruire, nello stesso luogo, una chiesa cristiana⁷⁶. Il silenzio dell'autore dell'*Expositio* su queste vicende conferma dunque che il suo intento è quello di difendere i culti ancora esistenti, sottolineandone la vitalità ancora intatta nonostante le persecuzioni subite, non di reclamare una restaurazione di quelli desueti

⁷² Così egli non ricorda affatto il tempio e l'oracolo di Apollo a Delfi, allora abbandonato e dal quale i cristiani avevano asportato le colonne (Amm. Marc. XIX 12.15; Philostorg., *Hist. eccl.* VII 1^c, p. 77; Cedren. I, p. 532, 4-10) e non menziona nessun culto riguardo a Cesarea di Cappadocia (*Expositio* 40, p. 176), dove i cristiani avevano distrutto i templi (Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* V 4.2, p. 197).

⁷³ *Expositio* 30, p. 162: *Heliopolis, quae propinquit Libano monti mulieres speciosas pascit, quae apud omnes nominantur Libanitides, ubi Venerem magnifice colunt: dicunt enim eam ibi habitare et mulieribus gratiam formositatis dare* («Eliopoli, vicina al monte Libano, nutre belle donne, conosciute da tutti con il nome di Libanitidi, che vi rendono uno splendido culto a Venere; dicono infatti che la dea vi risieda a dia alle donne grazia e bellezza»).

⁷⁴ Euseb., *Triac.* 8.4-8; *V. Const.* III 55; Socrat., *Hist. eccl.* I 18.7-10, p. 59; Sozomen., *Hist. eccl.* I 8.6, p. 18; cfr. T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge (MA) – London 1981, p. 247.

⁷⁵ Cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 250-251.

⁷⁶ Cfr. F.W. DEICHMANN, *Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümer*, *JDAI* 54 (1939), p. 108, 115 e 117.

o distrutti, che al momento doveva apparire irrealizzabile e che neppure l'intensa ma effimera opera di Giuliano riuscì poi a realizzare in maniera efficace.

Non dobbiamo, con ciò, esagerare l'importanza dell'aspetto religioso nell'*Expositio*, che resta pur sempre nettamente inferiore rispetto all'interesse prevalente per la geografia e per gli aspetti economici e commerciali; ma, a mio avviso, i due elementi si fondono, nello scritto, come espressioni di una visione complessiva. Abbiamo osservato, in effetti, che nella descrizione dell'Egitto è chiaramente espresso il concetto che la prosperità economica di quel paese è conseguenza della devozione dei suoi abitanti agli dèi pagani e del rispetto delle cerimonie tradizionali. Lo stesso concetto, se pur non espresso con tale evidenza, mi sembra implicito in altri passi: così la descrizione della grande ricchezza economica dell'Italia è seguita dalle notizie sulle Vestali, che compiono i loro riti *pro salute civitatis*, e sulla devozione ai culti pagani e all'aruspicina da parte dei senatori⁷⁷, dando l'impressione di uno stretto rapporto, che è poi evidente nella successiva descrizione della *Tuscia*⁷⁸. In altri casi, l'intervento degli dèi è diretto: così Cizico è lodata per la sua prosperità e per il suo splendore, con la menzione di Afrodite, che volle renderne belle le donne⁷⁹; l'arte delle coriste di Eliopoli, che l'autore considera fra le risorse professionali più importanti della Siria, richieste nelle altre città, è giudicata un dono delle Muse del Libano⁸⁰; ad Asclepio, infine, è attribuito il dono ad Alessandria dell'arte della medicina, che rende la città famosa e richiesti in tutto il mondo i medici che vi hanno studiato⁸¹. All'inverso, la completa distruzione di Durazzo è attribuita all'ira della divinità per la malvagità dei suoi abitanti⁸² ed è ricordata una profezia della Sibilla sulla futura distruzione di Rodi ad opera della divinità, per effetto di un'empietà connessa con il Colosso⁸³.

Questa concezione, che lega strettamente la prosperità economica di una regione al favore degli dèi, propiziato mediante la devozione alle

⁷⁷ *Expositio* 55, p. 192-194.

⁷⁸ *Expositio* 56, p. 194. Per il valore di *bona*, da intendersi in questo passo sia sul piano economico che su quello morale, cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 307.

⁷⁹ *Expositio* 48, p. 182-184.

⁸⁰ *Expositio* 32, p. 166: *... mittit aliis civitatibus... Heliopolis choraulas, maxime quod a Libano Musae illis inspirent divinitatem dicendi* («Eliopoli esporta nelle altre città coriste, soprattutto perché dal Libano le Muse ispirano loro una voce degna degli dèi»).

⁸¹ *Expositio* 37, p. 174.

⁸² *Expositio* 53, p. 190; cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 52-53.

⁸³ *Expositio* 63, p. 206; cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 330-331.

forme della religione tradizionale, potrebbe accordarsi con l'ipotesi che l'*Expositio* sia opera di un mercante con forti interessi nel commercio marittimo⁸⁴, dal momento che è ben attestata la particolare devozione di questa categoria, frutto dei timori per i pericoli della navigazione e della ricerca della protezione delle divinità per i propri traffici⁸⁵. In ogni caso, essa è testimonianza preziosa della profonda e diffusa reazione suscitata fra i pagani dalle persecuzioni di cui era oggetto la loro fede.

Un ultimo elemento, generalmente trascurato, vale a mio avviso a chiarire l'atteggiamento e gli intenti dell'autore dell'*Expositio*. Nella descrizione della Mesopotamia, dopo aver esposto la prosperità delle città di quella provincia, frutto principalmente del loro ruolo essenziale nei commerci fra l'impero romano e i Persiani, l'autore afferma:

Istae autem civitates semper stantes deorum et imperatoris sapientia,
habentes moenia inclita, bello semper virtutem Persarum dissolvunt;
ferventes negotiis et transigentes cum omni provincia bene⁸⁶.

Questa decisa affermazione merita di essere particolarmente sottolineata, poiché con essa l'autore fa dipendere sia la prosperità economica delle città della Mesopotamia, sia il mantenimento del loro ruolo nell'ambito del commercio con i Persiani⁸⁷, sia infine la loro stessa salvezza rispetto alla minaccia persiana⁸⁸, dalla saggezza degli dèi e dell'imperatore.

⁸⁴ Per quest'ipotesi cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 34-38, con discussione e bibliografia; F. MARTELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 34-35; H.J. DREXHAGE, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 4ss.; *contra* C. MOLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 705ss.

⁸⁵ Cfr. ad es. in generale J. ROUGÉ, *La navigazione antica* (trad. it.), Roma 1990, p. 191-195 e, con ampia documentazione, N. SANDBERG, Εὔποια. *Études épigraphiques*, Göteborg 1954; L. DE SALVO, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'impero romano. I 'corpora naviculariorum'*, Messina 1992, p. 287ss.

⁸⁶ *Expositio* 22, p. 156: «Queste città, che sono sempre in piedi grazie alla saggezza degli dèi e dell'imperatore e dispongono di famose mura, rintuzzano sempre in guerra il valore dei Persiani; ribollenti d'affari, esse sono prospere, come tutta la provincia».

⁸⁷ Elemento al quale l'autore sembra essere assai interessato: si vedano le analoghe affermazioni riguardo all'importanza commerciale di Bostra (*Expositio* 38, p. 176).

⁸⁸ Sulle guerre contro i Persiani durante il regno di Costanzo II cfr. in partic. B. STALLKENECHT, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Aussenpolitik in der Spätantike 306-395 n.Chr.*, Bonn 1969, p. 43ss. E' interessante osservare che l'ammissione del valore in guerra dei Persiani ricorre già prima nell'*Expositio* (19, p. 152-154), accompagnata da un'aspra condanna, dovuta a un motivo di carattere religioso: l'empietà che essi commettevano contro la divinità, per i rapporti incestuosi con madri e sorelle. L'accusa, del resto fondata (cfr. in partic. A. CHRISTENSEN, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhague 1944², p. 323-325), era topica nella tradizione sui Persiani: oltre a Teodoro (Therap. III 97 [*Sources chrétiennes*, N° 57], Paris 1958, p. 198-199), citato da J. ROUGÉ (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 232-233), anche altre fonti, sia pagane che cristiane, ne confermano l'ampia diffusione (ad es. Bardesane, *FGrHist* 719 F3.29; Tertull., *Ad nat.* I 16.4; *Apolog.* 9.16;

L'elogio della condotta di Costanzo viene così strettamente collegato a quello degli dèi pagani, anch' essi patroni e difensori della prosperità economica e della stessa salvezza della Mesopotamia, ed anzi menzionati prima dello stesso imperatore. Il passo assume dunque un significato peculiare proprio in funzione della guerra in atto contro i Persiani, sottolineando l'importanza dell' aiuto degli dèi in simili frangenti, con un' implicita esortazione, che non poteva sfuggire al lettore, al rispetto della religione pagana anche in funzione politica e militare.

E' da sottolineare l'analogia di questa concezione espressa dall' autore dell' *Expositio* circa il concorrere della guida degli dèi e di quella dell' imperatore nel felice esito delle imprese militari con un passo di un discorso che Ammiano attribuisce a Giuliano nel 363, durante la campagna contro i Persiani, in cui l'imperatore esorta i soldati a battersi con impegno, nella speranza di un ricco bottino:

Haec vobis cuncta poterunt abundare, si imperterriti deo meque (quantum humana ratio patitur), caute ductante, mitius egeritis⁸⁹.

Le analogie con il pensiero religioso di Giuliano sono del resto più ampie e significative: oltre al comune attaccamento alle forme anche esteriori della religiosità tradizionale, in particolare i sacrifici e l'aruspicina⁹⁰, l'autore dell' *Expositio* mostra di credere in dottrine di origine platonica analoghe a quelle che ispiravano Giuliano⁹¹ e sottolinea particolarmente la devozione del senato di Roma verso i culti del Sole e della Madre degli Dèi⁹², che tanta parte ebbero nella fede e nella politica religiosa di quest' ultimo⁹³. L'intensa, anche se effimera, opera per la restaurazione della religione pagana svolta da Giuliano nel breve periodo del suo governo come unico imperatore non fu solo l'effetto degli ideali

Julian., *Or.* I 9c; *C. Galil.* fr. 24.12-14 Masaracchia; ps.-Clem., *Recogn.* IX 21, in: *Die Pseudoklementinen*, II, *Rekognitionen*, hrsg. B. Rehm, Berlin 1965, p. 276-277).

⁸⁹ Amm. Marc. XXIV 3.6 («Potrete avere in abbondanza tutte queste cose, se, imperterriti sotto la cauta guida della divinità e mia, per quanto permette la ragione umana, vi comporterete con maggior moderazione»). Cfr. G. LUMBROSO, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, Roma 1903, p. 30; J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 238-239.

⁹⁰ Riguardo a Giuliano cfr. ad es. J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Ammianus, Julian and Divination*, in: *Roma Renascens. Beiträge zur Spätantike und Rezeptionsgeschichte Ilona Opelt gewidmet*, hrsg. v. M. Wissemann, Frankfurt am Main 1988, p. 198ss. (= ID., *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest: Change in the Late Roman Empire*, Norfolk 1990, ch. III).

⁹¹ Cfr. J. ROUGÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 53-55 e 306-307.

⁹² *Expositio* 55, p. 194.

⁹³ Cfr. ad es. P. ATHANASSIADI, *Giuliano* (trad. it.), Genova 1994, p. 106ss. e 128ss.

suoi e della ristretta cerchia di amici che lo circondavano⁹⁴, ma anche di esigenze religiose profondamente diffuse e sentite fra le masse pagane, consolidate e rese più pressanti dalle persecuzioni subite sotto Costanzo, delle quali l'*Expositio* ci conserva un'eco assai significativa.

I-00141 Roma

Gabriele MARASCO

Via Val Senio 19

⁹⁴ Si veda, in partic., l'accenno di Giuliano (*Misopog.* 354c; cfr. 365b) ai sei amici più stretti e compagni di fede che collaboravano con lui ad Antiochia nel 363, isolati e contrapposti alla popolazione cristiana della città.

IRONIE ET HISTOIRE: LE DISCOURS DE SOCLÈS (HÉRODOTE V 92)*

Puisqu'un passage d'Hérodote (V 90.1–93.2) est le seul texte qui parle d'un rassemblement des alliés spartiates invités en vue de ramener l'ancien tyran Hippias à Athènes, l'historicité de cet événement peut être mise en doute. Elle est cependant probable¹. En tout cas, les informations apportées par l'historien à l'occasion de cet épisode ont une portée exceptionnelle. A cause de notre connaissance insuffisante de l'histoire grecque à l'époque archaïque, on est ravi de trouver dans le récit d'Hérodote tant de renseignements, d'abord, sur les événements politiques liés aux tentatives spartiates pour détruire le nouveau régime, la démocratie à Athènes; ensuite, sur l'histoire de Corinthe sous la domination des Kypselides². Puisqu'on y trouve aussi des informations sur les relations de Delphes

* Le présent article est issu d'une partie de mon mémoire de diplôme d'études approfondies, préparé sous la direction de M. François Hartog à l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales à Paris (1994/95). Je désire exprimer ici ma reconnaissance à M. F. Hartog. Je remercie aussi d'autres personnes avec qui j'ai pu discuter au cours de cette recherche: Benedetto Bravo, Sabina Crippa, David Daix, Robert Fowler, Włodzimierz Lengauer, Oswyn Murray, C.B.R. Pelling, Marina Vladimirovna Skrzhinskaya, Herman Verdin et Pierre Vidal-Naquet.

Je citerai, pour Hérodote, la traduction de Ph.-E. Legrand (avec quelques retouches), et pour Thucydide, celle de L. Bodin et Jacqueline de Romilly.

¹ On pense d'ordinaire que l'opposition du Corinthien Soclès à la proposition spartiate faisait partie d'une politique corinthienne traditionnelle, visant à protéger le *status quo* au nord du Péloponnèse. Outre le récit en question, voir chez Hérodote V 74-76 (il s'agit, peut-être, d'une confusion entre les deux événements); VI 89; VI 108.5-6. Cf., par exemple, L.H. JEFFERY, *Greece before the Persian Invasion*, dans *CAH*² IV, Cambridge 1988, p. 360; cf. aussi E. WILL, *Korinthiaka. Recherches sur l'histoire et la civilisation de Corinthe des origines aux guerres médiques*, thèse, Paris 1955, p. 650-663.

² Au sujet de la tyrannie à Corinthe, voir, par exemple, F. SCHACHERMEYER, art. *Periandros*, *RE* XIX (1937), col. 704-717; E. WILL, *Korinthiaka*, p. 363-571; Mary WHITE, *Greek Tyranny*, *Phoenix* 9 (1955), p. 4-6, 10-12; A. ANDREWES, *The Greek Tyrants*, London 1958, p. 43-53; H. BERVE, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* I, München 1967, p. 14-27; Molly BROADBENT, *Studies in Greek Genealogy*, Leiden 1968, p. 39-60; Cl. MOSSÉ, *La tyrannie dans la Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1969, p. 25-37; S.I. OOST, *Cypselus the Bacchiad*, *CPh* 67 (1972), p. 10-30; R. DREWS, *The First Tyrants in Greece*, *Historia* 21 (1972), p. 132-134; L. BRACCESI, *Le tirannidi e gli sviluppi politici ed economico-sociali*, dans *Storia e civiltà dei Greci* II 2, Milano 1978, p. 357-361; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *The Pursuit of Power by Individuals, c. 650-550 B.C.*, dans *CAH*² III 3, Cambridge 1982, p. 344-350. Au sujet de la chronologie des Kypselides, il existe une discussion fameuse: d'une part, à titre d'exemple, G. BUSOLT, *Griechische Geschichte* I, Gotha 1893, p. 638,

avec les tyrans³, sur le rôle politique du sanctuaire, ainsi qu'une critique de la tyrannie en général, on est souvent tenté de s'appuyer sur les conclusions tirées de l'examen de cet épisode pour construire un certain modèle de la situation politique en Grèce archaïque, de la position du tyran et de ses rapports avec les différents groupes sociaux, des origines de son pouvoir⁴, de l'attitude à son égard dans la société archaïque et dans celle du temps d'Hérodote. Les questions qui s'imposent au cours d'une telle étude sont d'autant plus difficiles que la plupart des informations dont nous disposons au sujet de la tyrannie archaïque sont fournies par l'œuvre d'Hérodote⁵. Même si des auteurs postérieurs utilisent d'autres traditions, inconnues d'Hérodote, il me semble, dans la plupart des cas, qu'ils façonnent leurs récits par rapport au récit hérodotéen, soit en l'enrichissant par de nouveaux détails, soit en le corrigeant au moyen de versions divergentes⁶. Ce faisant, ils présupposent, à mon avis, que leur public connaisse les *logoi* d'Hérodote sur les tyrans.

et F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Periandros*, col. 711-714, pour la date 657-584/3 av. J.-C.; de l'autre, surtout E. WILL, *Korinthiaka*, p. 364-440, pour la date 620-550 environ (cf. déjà J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte* I 2, Strasbourg 1913, p. 274-284). Voir aussi J. DUCAT, *Note sur la chronologie des Kypselides*, *BCH* 85 (1961), p. 418-425; M.R. CATAUDELLA, *Erodoto e la cronologia dei Cypselidi*, *Maia* 16 (1964), p. 204-225; J. SERVAIS, *Hérodote et la chronologie des Cypselides*, *AC* 38 (1969), p. 5-13; et récemment, P. GIANNINI, *La cronologia di Periandro: Erodoto (3,48; 5,94-95) e P.Oxy. 664, QUCC* N.S. 16 (1984), p. 7-30.

³ Cf. à titre d'exemple, H.W. PARKE — D.E.W. WORMELL, *The Delphic Oracle* I, Oxford 1956, p. 114-125.

⁴ Cf. les remarques d'A. ANDREWES (*op. cit.*, p. 43): «The revolution at Corinth was both the first and, as it were, the purest of its kind, the aristocrats ripe for their downfall, the tyrant a straightforward liberator, so much identified with his supporters that he never needed a bodyguard». Voir, cependant, ses doutes à propos de la tradition favorable à la tyrannie (empruntée, selon toute vraisemblance, d'Ephore) qui paraît, surtout en ce qui concerne Kypselos et Périandre, trop schématique. On pourrait même soupçonner, à la limite, qu'il s'agit d'un renversement de l'image d'un tyran cruel (p. 45-46). Voir aussi Cl. MOSSÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 25: «[...] Et de fait, la tyrannie corinthienne est peut-être, de toutes les tyrannies archaïques, celle à laquelle s'applique le mieux l'analyse générale que nous avons esquissée au chapitre premier» (cf. le chapitre intitulé «Les facteurs de déséquilibre dans la société aristocratique et les origines de la tyrannie», p. 3-9). — Il n'est pas mon intention de mettre en doute la portée des interprétations traditionnelles (qui sont dues, en dernière analyse, à Aristote), mais de vérifier un cas spécifique de l'application des procédés méthodologiques aux textes des historiens.

⁵ Cf. l'inventaire des 55 tyrans grecs mentionnés par l'historien dans K.H. WATERS, *Herodotus on Tyrants and Despots. A Study in Objectivity (Historia Einzelschriften, 15)*, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 42-44.

⁶ Cf. Aristote, *Pol.* III 1284a; V 1310b, 1311a, 1313b, 1315b; Aristote, fr. 611.20 Rose; Nicolas de Damas, *FGrHist* 90 F57-60; Plutarque, *Sept. sap. conv.* 146c-164d; Pausanias I 23; II 28; V 17-18; X 24.

Il me paraît donc utile d'étudier le passage en question un peu plus soigneusement qu'on ne l'a fait jusqu'ici. Je voudrais énoncer tout de suite mon opinion: il me semble que les chercheurs n'ont pas assez réfléchi sur la logique du récit de l'historien, sur l'arrangement de la pensée dans le discours de Soclès et que, par conséquent, on a mal compris le sens du récit sur la tyrannie à Corinthe. De là vient, à mon avis, que les constructions historiques qui reposent sur les informations issues de ce passage d'Hérodote sont, dans la plupart des cas, mal fondées.

Mon approche de l'œuvre hérodotéenne n'implique pas que je considère celle-ci comme un récit purement littéraire. Montrer qu'un historien a voulu transmettre un message moral, et analyser les véhicules artistiques de celui-ci, ce n'est pas exclure qu'il ait pu s'efforcer de donner une représentation vraie du passé, fondée sur des procédés critiques⁷.

I

«La confusion règne dès l'époque d'Hérodote», écrit E. Will⁸. Selon beaucoup de chercheurs, le discours célèbre d'un des députés rassemblés à Sparte, Soclès de Corinthe, ne s'accorde pas avec le sens de son contexte immédiat. En effet, la harangue prononcée pour démontrer la vraie nature de la tyrannie, «ce qu'il y a au monde de plus injuste et de plus sanguinaire» (τοῦ οὐτε ἀδικώτερόν ἐστι οὐδὲν κατ' ἀνθρώπους οὔτε μαιφονώτερον — 92a1 *ad fin.*)⁹, ne présente que deux récits sur Kypsélos et son fils-successeur, Périandre¹⁰. Le premier récit, quoique

⁷ Ces considérations générales doivent beaucoup à plusieurs ouvrages d'A. MOMIGLIANO (voir notamment son livre *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* [Sather Classical Lectures], Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford 1990). Parmi les travaux récents, cf., à titre d'exemple, Jacqueline DE ROMILLY, *La construction de la vérité chez Thucydide*, Paris 1990, p. 7; C.B.R. PELLING, *Thucydides' Archidamus and Herodotus' Artabanus*, dans *Georgica. Greek Studies in honour of George Cawkwell*, éd. M.A. Flower – M. Toher, London 1991, p. 120 n. 1; B. BRAVO, *Rappresentazioni di vicende di Sicilia e di Grecia degli anni 481-480 a.C. presso storici antichi. Studio di racconti e discorsi storiografici*, *Athenaeum* 81 (1993), surtout p. 42.

⁸ *Korinthiaka* (n. 1), p. 450. Voir déjà Plutarque, *De malignitate*, 861a.

⁹ Cf. aussi 92η4 *ad fin.*

¹⁰ On ne trouve que trois remarques, toujours très brèves, concernant des violences des tyrans, à savoir: «Et voici comment se comporta Kypsélos, quand il fut devenu tyran: il bannit beaucoup de Corinthiens, en priva beaucoup de leur biens, et bien davantage de la vie» (V 92ε2); «Périandre, au début, était plus doux que son père; mais, après qu'il fut entré en relations par l'intermédiaire de messagers avec Thrasybule, tyran de Milet, il devint bien plus cruel encore (μαιφονώτερος) que Kypsélos» (92ζ1); «Périandre com-

assez ambigu, dépendrait, d'après ce qu'on pense d'habitude, d'une tradition corinthienne favorable au tyran¹¹. Par conséquent, on ne voit pas comment le contenu du discours peut prouver le caractère criminel de la tyrannie. Deuxièmement, on ne voit pas comment le récit de Soclès peut détourner les Spartiates de la décision d'attaquer une cité libre, Athènes.

On peut aborder le problème du contenu du discours en analysant la structure mythique de quelques sujets du récit de Soclès. Les éléments de la structure interne du conte de Kypsélos se fondent sur des motifs hérités de la conception mythique archaïque de l'enfant qui conquiert, en passant de nombreuses épreuves de caractère initiatique (y compris la mort simulée, indiquée par l'expulsion dans une caisse), le pouvoir qui lui a été promis par des oracles. Telle est, par exemple, la structure des mythes de l'enfance de Moïse, Télèphe, Oedipe, Persée, Cyrus, Sargon, Romulus et Remus¹². Au niveau du récit, le grand-père du futur roi, prévenu par des oracles, essaie, en vain, de tuer l'enfant de sa fille. Ce qui est important, c'est que l'enfant descend de la famille royale, mais seulement par sa mère. Par conséquent, le héros n'est, en fait, ni un héritier direct et légal, ni un usurpateur du pouvoir. Il n'est pas surprenant que dans certaines formes littéraires des diverses traditions orales, l'accent soit mis sur le thème du salut merveilleux de l'enfant¹³. Autour de ce thème, on trouve toute une série d'éléments constituant une fable qui

prit le sens de cette action: il saisit que le conseil de Thrasybule était de mettre à mort les citoyens qui dépassaient les autres; et dès lors il n'y eut pas de malice (κακότης) qu'il ne déployât contre les Corinthiens. Tout ce que Kypsélos avait laissé à tuer ou bannir, Périandre l'acheva [...]» (92η1).

¹¹ Voir les ouvrages cités plus bas, p. 215 n. 27; cf. R.W. MACAN, *Herodotus, the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books...* I, London–New York 1895, *ad locc.* A propos du problème des origines de la tradition, ainsi que des oracles cités dans par Hérodoté, voir ci-dessous, p. 209 n. 14; 215 n. 27; 218-220.

¹² Cf. déjà Marie DELCOURT, *Oedipe ou la légende du conquérant*, Liège–Paris 1944, p. 1-65 (à propos d'Hérodote, p. 16-22); voir surtout M.V. SKRZHINSKAYA, *Fol'klornye motivy v tradicii o korinfskom tirane Kipsele*, VDI 1967, 3, p. 65-73 (avec un résumé en anglais: «Folklore Motifs in the Tradition about the Corinthian Tyrant Cypselus»). L'auteur suit un ouvrage de V.Ja. PROPP, *Edip v svete fol'klora, Učenyje Zapiski L.G.U., ser. filol. nauk* 9 (1944), p. 138-175 (une traduction anglaise: *Oedipus in the Light of Folklore*, dans *Oedipus. A Folklore Casebook*, éd. L. Edmunds – A. Dundes, New York–London 1984, p. 76-121). Plus récemment, J.-P. VERNANT, *Le tyran boiteux: d'Oedipe à Périandre*, dans J.-P. VERNANT – P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Mythe et tragédie deux*, Paris 1986, p. 45-77 (= en anglais: *From Oedipus to Periander: Lameness, Tyranny, Incest in Legend and History*, *Arethusa* 15, 1982 [American Classical Studies in honour of J.-P. Vernant], p. 19-37); cf. aussi J.-P. VERNANT, *Commentary on Meier and Konstan, Arethusa* 20 (1987), p. 75-77.

¹³ Cf. aussi S. THOMPSON, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, Bloomington 1955, vol. V, M-311; A. ANDREWES, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 46.

peut faire l'objet d'une analyse proppéenne. Tel est aussi le cas du *logos* de Kypsélos chez Hérodote^{13a}.

Or, selon plusieurs chercheurs, Hérodote n'ajouterait rien au récit emprunté d'une tradition précédente, qu'il préserverait sans essayer aucunement de l'accorder avec la matière de son œuvre¹⁴. Pour un savant qui ne se pose de questions ni sur les sources, ni sur la méthode de l'écrivain, cette situation peut être un bon exemple d'un ensemble mythologique préservé à l'état presque pur, légèrement changé au cours de sa transmission. D'autre part, on peut s'appuyer sur ce texte pour soutenir, avec tant de chercheurs modernes, que la composition de l'œuvre d'Hérodote est assez vague et confuse, que l'enchaînement des épisodes, ainsi que celui du raisonnement, est artificiel ou même accidentel. Il suffit pour cela de penser que les thèmes préservés par Hérodote expriment des représentations populaires, de caractère anecdotique, pour lesquelles l'écrivain aurait une nette prédilection dans l'ensemble de son œuvre. Séduit par cette éblouissante légende, l'historien n'aurait pas remarqué l'incohérence de son propre récit¹⁵, ou bien il aurait sacrifié la cohérence pour obtenir un *logos* brillant¹⁶.

^{13a} Cf. J.N. KAZAZIS, *Herodotos' Stories and History: A Proppian Analysis of his Narrative Technique*, diss. Urbana-Champaign 1978 (microfilm), p. 105-108.

¹⁴ Voir W. ALY, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen. Eine Untersuchung über die volkstümlichen Elemente der altgriechischen Prosaerzählung*, Göttingen 1921, p. 93; A. ANDREWES, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 46-47; M.V. SKRZHINSKAYA, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 72-73; cf. également E. WILL, *Korinthiaka* (n. 1), p. 459-460; J. FONTENROSE, *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1978, p. 116-117. B. SHIMRON, par exemple, dans *Politics and Belief in Herodotus* (*Historia Einzelschriften*, 58), Stuttgart 1989, p. 98, écrit: «The story of Cypselus' salvation is pure romance», néanmoins, «the examples of his arbitrary conduct as tyrant are relevant to his [*sc. Socles*'] argument...». D. FEHLING, *Herodotus and his «Sources»*. *Citation, Invention and Narrative Art* (trad. J.B. Howie), Leeds 1989, p. 185: «In 5,92 a speech is used to work in several stories [...]. Anecdotes: some of these are very little to the point, and they are all so much in Herodotus' usual narrative style that this setting [*le thème* — M.W.] is soon forgotten. In this respect Socles' speech is an isolated case. Stories set within speeches are generally adapted to their setting [...]». Cf. aussi J. WELLS, *Studies in Herodotus*, Oxford 1923, p. 70-73; Jutta KIRCHENBERG, *Die Funktion der Orakel im Werke Herodots* (*Hypomnemata*, 11), Göttingen 1965, p. 74-78.

¹⁵ Opinion d'autant plus séduisante qu'on sait qu'Hérodote se propose de λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα. Cf., à titre d'exemple, J. DEFRADES, *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique*, Paris 1972, p. 211 (à propos du récit sur Crésus).

¹⁶ Une troisième possibilité, à savoir l'idée qu'Hérodote était conscient de l'incohérence de son récit et qu'il l'a choisie, délibérément, afin de signaler la position ambiguë du tyran dans la cité, me paraît anachronique. Car l'ambiguïté découverte par des chercheurs des dernières générations (certainement présente, à l'époque, dans la pensée grecque, surtout dans le milieu aristocratique, et témoignant une contradiction entre les idées égalitaires et l'esprit agonistique des élites archaïques qui ont façonné des opinions héritées plus tard par la nouvelle société classique) ne s'accorde pas avec l'ensemble des

Cependant, je pense que le problème des sources et de la méthode s'impose en premier lieu. L'explication du mythe, d'abord, ne peut pas nous faire éviter la question de l'artifice de l'auteur. Tout au contraire, ce n'est qu'une fois compris la logique du mythe, qu'on peut aborder les problèmes de la logique du récit. Si l'on exclut l'inconscience ou la bêtise de l'historien, on ne peut pas ne pas se demander quel est le but recherché par Hérodote. J'avoue que je ne vois aucune élégance, aucun charme du récit de Kypsélos, qui puisse remplacer la valeur rhétorique d'une harangue bien ordonnée et cohérente. Même s'ils ne sont pas des ῥήτορες au sens postérieur du terme, les discours chez Hérodote ont des règles à suivre. Les principes de leur composition ne sont pas, bien entendu, semblables aux exigences de la probabilité présentées par Thucydide, mais ils sont en accord avec la pratique et la théorie des contemporains en ce qui concerne la cohérence logique et littéraire. Cependant, la force des préjugés analytiques hérités du XIX^e siècle a été jusqu'ici trop grande pour qu'on pût étudier le discours de Soclès en tant que discours. Il n'existe, à ma connaissance, aucune étude sur sa forme — ce qui est surprenant vu la fait qu'on a ici affaire au plus long parmi les discours chez Hérodote.

Un autre point devra également attirer notre attention: la position centrale de cet épisode dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre, ainsi que le moment historique extrêmement important, voire décisif, du rassemblement à Sparte, à savoir les débuts du développement de la démocratie athénienne¹⁷.

On est donc obligé de se poser deux questions: quelle est la logique interne du discours de Soclès; et quelle est sa position dans le contexte immédiat et dans le contexte plus vaste.

idées d'Hérodote. Il faut insister sur le fait que l'ambiguïté du pouvoir en tant que tel est une autre chose. Il s'agit, comme on le verra, des dangers de la position élevée d'un être humain. En plus, Hérodote n'avait pas les instruments mentaux indispensables pour pouvoir concevoir l'idée de l'ambiguïté dans les termes de notre pensée contemporaine. On ne peut donc pas échapper à la question des sources de l'historien, ni à celle de la cohérence de son récit. — En revanche, on trouve chez Hérodote une autre ambivalence, à savoir au niveau de sa méthode narrative. Comme l'a démontré Th. SPATH, *Das Motiv der doppelten Beleuchtung bei Herodot*, Diss. Wien 1968, l'historien a élaboré le procédé du double éclairage portant sur un personnage ou un peuple, afin de donner à son récit une perspective, une dimension humaine (à propos des Kypsélides, voir p. 102-106). Cf. aussi un article très important de W. SCHADEWALDT, *Das Religiös-Humane als Grundlage der geschichtlichen Objektivität bei Herodot*, dans *Herodot. Eine Auswahl aus der neuern Forschung (Wege der Forschung, XXVI)*, éd. W. Marg, Darmstadt 1962, p. 185-201. Dans le cas présent, quand même, l'insistance de l'écrivain sur la tendance du discours de Soclès nous invite à chercher d'autres explications, après avoir accepté l'idée de Spath.

¹⁷ J'essayerai de démontrer ci-dessous l'importance de ce moment historique dans la pensée d'Hérodote.

II

Il faut, en premier lieu, souligner que le discours en question est beaucoup plus ample que les autres discours chez Hérodote. Son importance ne peut être mise en doute. J'entends démontrer ci-dessous qu'il est aussi soigneusement élaboré.

Commençons par l'analyse de la composition. Le discours de Soclès contient trois épisodes de portée très différente. Il y a d'abord l'histoire du salut merveilleux de Kypsélos, avec des prodiges qui prédisent sa future ascension au pouvoir (92a1–ζ1). Ensuite, on trouve un épisode qui explique la raison du changement inattendu du comportement du tyran: le conseil de Thrasybule sous la forme d'une énigme rapportée par un héraut (92ζ1–η1)¹⁸. Enfin, un exemple de la cruauté de Périandre, l'épisode avec le spectre de Mélissa (92η1-4).

La deuxième et la troisième histoire ne sont pas difficiles à justifier. Michael Stahl a montré que leur sens consiste à signaler que les hommes, une fois gagné le pouvoir, deviennent d'habitude brusquement de cruels tyrans. Telle est la signification du contraste entre le Périandre doux des débuts et le despote brutal un peu plus tard, après qu'il a compris les *arcana imperii*¹⁹. L'explication est fort satisfaisante quant au personnage de Périandre. Cependant, elle ne suffit pas, lorsqu'il s'agit de l'épisode «exemplaire» du pillage des vêtements des femmes corinthiennes par le tyran²⁰. En plus, cette interprétation n'explique pas du

¹⁸ Chez Aristote, les rôles des personnages sont renversés: l'enseignement vient de Périandre à Thrasybule (*Pol.* III 1284a17, 1311a13). — Chez Hérodote il s'agit, peut-être, d'un renversement indispensable, compte tenu la tradition fameuse de la sagesse de Périandre.

¹⁹ M. STAHL, *Tyrannis und das Problem der Macht. Die Geschichten Herodots über Kypselos und Periander von Korinth*, *Hermes* 111 (1983), p. 202-220. Plusieurs remarques de ce chercheur marquent une tendance à effacer la barrière profonde entre la pensée de Thucydide et celle d'Hérodote, en soutenant que l'intérêt primaire des deux historiens était le problème de la «Machtpolitik». Il me semble que l'Hérodote de Stahl est trop thucydidéen. Je crois qu'il faut, au contraire, observer surtout les changements d'optique de l'un à l'autre auteur quant aux mêmes questions, analyser comment Thucydide prolonge et modifie des idées de son prédécesseur. Cf. d'ailleurs, ci-dessous, p. 213 n. 24; 231-235; 258 et n. 87.

²⁰ Le sens du récit de cette action du tyran chez Hérodote consiste à montrer son orgueil. Il considère tous les Corinthiens comme ses sujets, leur propriété est la sienne, leurs femmes, dans une certaine mesure, sont les siennes aussi. En plus, il dépasse le tabou de la nudité, il viole le sentiment de la pudeur des Corinthiennes. Cf. Hérodote I 8.3 et le commentaire de D. ASHERI, *Erodoto. Le Storie*, vol. I: *La Lidia e la Persia*, Milano 1988, ad I 10.8-10.

tout le récit sur Kypsélos. La brève remarque, déjà citée, sur sa cruauté (92ε2) ne peut pas nous faire oublier que le sens de l'histoire entière est tout différent. S'il en est ainsi, il faut s'occuper surtout de cette partie.

Toutes les trois parties sont mises dans un cadre très bien marqué. L'ouverture du discours peut être considérée comme un vrai chef-d'œuvre de la rhétorique de l'écrivain:

En vérité, le ciel va s'enfoncer sous terre, et la terre planer au-dessus du ciel, les hommes vont faire leur demeure dans la mer et les poissons là où l'avaient les hommes, puisque vous, Lacédémoniens, ruinant les régimes égalitaires (ἰσοκρατίη), vous vous préparez à établir dans les villes des régimes tyranniques (τυραννίς), ce qu'il y a au monde de plus injuste et de plus sanguinaire.

Ce passage (92α1), avec une figure précieuse de rhétorique, avec sa période longue mais dense, destinée à impressionner les auditeurs, fournit la preuve que l'auteur est le maître de la forme de ce discours. Il est aussi bien au courant des tendances de la prose contemporaine²¹.

La comparaison qui marque l'indignation du Corinthien à l'égard du plan spartiate d'introduire Hippias à Athènes est un *adynaton*²². Comme l'a bien vu J. Michel, les origines de la figure de l'*adynaton* sont à lier avec le serment promissoire qui comporte un engagement pour l'avenir²³. Chez Hérodote, de surcroît, on trouve des figures

²¹ Sur le style d'Hérodote en général, cf. les remarques de J.D. DENNISTON, *Greek Prose Style*, Oxford 1952, p. 5-8. A propos de l'influence sophistique sur Hérodote, voir par exemple: E. MAASS, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der griechischen Prosa*, Hermes 22 (1887), surtout p. 581-595; P. KLEBER, *Die Rhetorik bei Herodot*, Löwenberg 1889 (*non vidi*); A. NIESCHKE, *De figurarum, quae vocantur σχήματα Γοργία apud Herodotum usu*, München 1891 (*non vidi*); E. NORDEN, *Antike Kunstprosa* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1898, p. 38-41; M. WUNDT, *De Herodoti elocutione cum sophistarum comparata*, Leipzig 1903 (*non vidi*); W. ALY, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 286-296; W. SCHMIDT – O. STÄHLIN, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* I 2, München 1934, p. 573-577; cf. aussi B.B. MARGULES, *Gerodot*, III, 80-82 i *sofističeskaya literatura* [«Hérodote et la littérature sophistique»], *VDI* 64 (1960) 1, p. 21-34; A. DIHLE, *Herodot und die Sophistik*, *Philologus* 106 (1962), p. 207-220; A.J. PODLECKI, *Herodotus in Athens?*, dans *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory. Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr*, éd. K.H. Kinzl, Berlin-New York 1977, p. 265.

²² A propos de cette figure, cf. le commentaire *ad loc.* de G. NENCI, *Erodoto. Le Storie*, vol. V: *La rivolta della Ionia*, Milano 1994; aussi J. MICHEL, *Quelques formules de serment promissoire et l'origine de la comparaison par l'adynaton*, *RIDA* (3ème section) 4 (1957), p. 139-150; H.-C. CANTER, *The Figure of ἀδύνατον in Greek and Latin Poetry*, *AJPh* 51 (1930), p. 32-41. Cf., par exemple, un cas fameux de l'*Iliade* — le serment d'Achille (I 233-241).

²³ *Art. cit.*, p. 140-150, surtout 140, 143, 146-148. Vu les difficultés de la pensée primitive avec l'idée du temps à venir, on peut comprendre l'*adynaton* comme un procédé utilisé en vue de rendre possible un engagement ou une promesse efficace à l'avenir. De

pareilles dans des contextes très bien définis, à savoir dans la déclaration par laquelle les Athéniens rejettent à jamais les conditions perses (VIII 143.2), et dans un serment solennel avec des imprécations terribles (I 165). Un passage de Polybe (XII 6.2 Büttner-Wobst) nous montre que ce n'est pas par hasard que l'*adynaton* fait partie presque obligatoirement du serment par lequel un traité est conclu. Les parties s'engagent à ne pas violer la convention, jusqu'au moment où l'impossible deviendra possible.

Or, à l'*adynaton* du début du discours de Soclès²⁴ correspond le passage qui le clôt. Vu l'expérience que les Corinthiens ont de la tyrannie et l'ignorance des Spartiates, l'orateur commence une série de récits afin d'empêcher l'intervention à Athènes (92a). A la fin, il déclare :

Voilà, sachez-le bien, ô Lacédémoniens, ce qu'est la tyrannie, voilà comment elle agit. Nous autres Corinthiens, nous avons été fort étonnés (ἡμέας ... τό τε αὐτίκα θῶμα μέγα εἶχε) dès le premier moment quand nous vous avons vu faire venir Hippias; aujourd'hui, nous le sommes encore plus (νῦν τε δὴ καὶ μεζόνως θωμάζομεν) par le langage que vous tenez. Nous vous adjurons, au nom des dieux des Grecs, de ne pas établir de tyrans dans les villes (ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε ἐπικαλεόμενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις). Ne renoncerez-vous pas à votre dessein? Allez-vous entreprendre, contre toute justice (παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον), de ramener Hippias? Sachez que, eux du moins, les Corinthiens ne vous approuvent pas (92η4).

On voit aussitôt qu'à l'*adynaton*, à la comparaison du comportement actuel des Spartiates avec des événements impossibles, fait pendant, à la fin du discours, une série de déclarations d'étonnement en face des actes politiques réels, effectués par les Lacédémoniens. Il faut s'interroger sur le sens de ce lien formel.

L'*adynaton* initial commence une ligne de raisonnement très bien ordonnée. La figure s'appuie sur deux exemples de l'impossible (le ciel

là «un prolongement curieux» de l'*adynaton* chez les juristes romains (p. 140 n. 5); cf. H.-C. CANTER, *art. cit.*, p. 41. Voir aussi, de manière générale, L. GERNET, *Le temps dans les formes archaïques du droit*, dans *Droit et institutions en Grèce antique*, Paris 1982, p. 121-156 (= *Journal de Psychologie* 53, 1956, p. 379-406).

²⁴ Selon M. STAHL (*art. cit.* [n. 19], p. 210, 213-214, 216), la figure, qui s'appuie sur le contraste de ἰσοκρατίη avec τυραννίς, témoigne de l'idée d'Hérodote que la ruine d'un régime égalitaire et le rétablissement de la tyrannie sont comparables à une catastrophe de l'ordre cosmique. Cette idée me paraît peu convaincante, puisqu'il s'agit, quand même, d'une figure de style qui consiste exactement en l'exagération du sentiment de l'orateur.

sous la terre, les hommes changeant leur demeure avec les poissons)²⁵. Ensuite, Soclès continue par un autre impossible, à première vue un peu ironiquement: «Si vraiment vous jugez bon que les villes soient soumises à des tyrans, commencez par en établir un chez vous-mêmes avant de chercher à en établir aussi chez les autres». En réalité, l'orateur signale que les Lacédémoniens ont été toujours libres, il fait allusion à la valeur fondamentale de la constitution de Sparte. Puis, il établit, de façon ambiguë, une opposition entre les Corinthiens, qui ont l'expérience de la tyrannie (ils sont ἔμπειροι), et les Spartiates, qui ne l'ont pas (ἄπειροι). C'est afin de renseigner les Spartiates sur la nature de la tyrannie, qu'il fait un récit sur Kypsélos et Périandre (92a2). L'ambiguïté consiste en ceci: Soclès flatte les Lacédémoniens en disant qu'ils sont ἄπειροι des tyrans, parce qu'ils ont leur liberté et leur égalité. La tyrannie n'est pas possible à Sparte²⁶! Cependant, justement parce qu'ils sont moins parfaits, les Corinthiens ont le droit de donner des enseignements aux Spartiates.

Vers la fin du discours, l'orateur exprime son étonnement (qu'il faut mettre en rapport avec l'*adynaton* initial) à cause du comportement des Spartiates. Maintenant, après avoir écouté Soclès, ils doivent être plus sages. Mais l'orateur change de ton. Soudainement, il les attaque: il ne parle plus de leur ignorance, mais de leur intention injuste. Il les adjure au nom des dieux Grecs de ne pas établir de tyrans dans les villes (au pluriel!) de la Grèce (92η4) — ce qui sera repris plus tard par d'autres alliés qui «conjurèrent les Lacédémoniens de ne rien faire qui pût porter le trouble (μηδὲν νεώτερον) dans une cité hellénique» (93.2). Soclès déclare solennellement, pour finir, l'opposition des Corinthiens (92η4 *ad fin.*).

On voit donc la fonction de l'*adynaton*. Le commencement solennel prépare la formule finale. Les mots énergiques de Soclès à la fin du chapitre V 92 complètent l'hyperbole par laquelle il a commencé. Une question rhétorique («Ne renoncerez-vous pas à votre dessin? Allez-vous entreprendre, contre toute justice, de ramener Hippias?») se rapporte exactement à la figure d'*adynaton*, lorsque l'impossible est devenu, évidemment, possible et réel. La raison d'être de cette composition rhétorique est le renversement.

²⁵ La structure double de la figure est très fréquente, voir H.-C. CANTER, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 33.

²⁶ Cf. Thuc. I 18.1: αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος.

On trouve la même figure ailleurs chez Hérodote (VIII 143.2): «maintenant, annonce à Mardonius que, tant que le soleil parcourra la même route que celle qu'il suit actuellement, nous ne nous accorderons point avec Xerxès». Dans le discours de Soclès, la déclaration finale (ἴστε ὑμῖν κτλ.) veut dire, en fait, «nous ne nous accorderons jamais avec votre plan injuste», et fait allusion à un serment promissoire sous la forme de l'*adynaton*.

III

Puisque le discours de Soclès dans son ensemble s'est révélé être une composition rhétorique accomplie et raffinée, il faut s'attendre à ce que les récits qui y sont insérés ne soient pas en désaccord avec son idée directrice.

Selon certains savants, le récit sur Kypsélos serait incohérent et déplacé. Leurs critiques portent sur les points suivants: a) la fable du sauvetage merveilleux de l'enfant, b) le sens des trois oracles qui sont rapportés, c) l'information sur la cruauté du tyran à la fin de l'épisode (92ε2 *ad fin.*), et d) la remarque qui lui fait suite et qui, dans son contexte, paraît bizarre: «Après un règne de trente années et une vie tissée jusqu'au bout de jours heureux (διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ), il eut pour successeur au pouvoir son fils Périandre» (92ζ1).

Les oracles rapportés par l'historien dans l'épisode de Kypsélos, peuvent être, à mon avis, un bon point de départ de l'analyse, puisqu'on aborde ici, d'un coup, presque toutes les questions décisives concernant la méthode et les sources de l'écrivain²⁷. Ce sont aussi les prophéties

²⁷ Sur les oracles relatifs à Kypsélos chez Hérodote, voir A. OERI, *De Herodoti fonte Delphico*, Diss. Basileae 1899, p. 17-19; V. COSTANZI, *L'oracolo di Aezione*, *RFIC* 32 (1904), p. 10-40; E. WILL, *Korinthiaka* (n. 1), p. 450-453; H.W. PARKE – D.E.W. WORMELL, *op. cit.* (n. 3) I, p. 114-120, ainsi que II, n^{os} 6-9; R. CRAHAY, *La littérature oraculaire chez Hérodote*, Paris 1956, p. 234-246, avec un compte rendu de J. DEFRADAS, *REG* 70 (1957), p. 537-540; W. DEN BOER, *The Delphic Oracle concerning Cypselus*, *Mnemosyne* 4 (1957), p. 339; A. ANDREWES, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 46-48; S.I. OOST, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 16-18; J. KIRCHBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 74-75; M.V. SKRZHINSKAYA, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 66-68; J. FONTENROSE, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 116-117; et récemment, G. NENCI (n. 22), *comm. ad locc.* Cf. aussi, de manière générale, Ph.-E. LEGRAND, *Hérodote croyait-il aux oracles?*, dans *Mélanges A.-M. Desrousseaux*, Paris 1937, p. 275-284; L. BARNABÒ, *Oracoli come messaggio. Erodoto testimone di una dimensione orale dei responsi oracolari*, *BIFG* 4 (1977-78), p. 157-174 (il faut remarquer que l'article est plein d'idées fort surprenantes); J. HART, *Herodotus and Greek History*, London-Canberra-New York 1982, p. 33-45.

dans leur rapport avec d'autres éléments du récit, qui rendent possible, j'espère, d'établir un réseau de sens cachés.

L'histoire de Kypsélos en elle-même peut être justifiée par un procédé qui, à plusieurs reprises chez Hérodote, sert à introduire un épisode, un conte, une information ou même un personnage. Il s'agit de l'étiologie²⁸. L'étiologie du nom du tyran occupe la position centrale (92ε1), quoique l'accent soit posé évidemment sur la scène du salut avec le sourire providentiel de l'enfant et le rôle de Labda qui réussit à protéger son fils, à le cacher dans un coffre²⁹.

On voit aussitôt, cependant, que ce sont les oracles qui mettent en mouvement l'action. Ils prédisent des événements futurs, ils préviennent les héros et les font agir. Telle est, évidemment, la fonction de l'oracle favorable donné à Kypsélos qui, par conséquent, «confiant (πίσυνος) dans cette réponse, attaqua Corinthe et s'en empara» (92ε2). Ce rôle dramatique est également clair dans le cas de la prophétie donnée aux Bacchiades (92β3). Assez tardivement, après avoir compris la prophétie reçue par Éétion (92β2), ils décident de faire périr l'enfant (92γ1). De ce point de vue, la signification des oracles au sein de l'épisode ne peut être mise en doute. Les décisions les plus importantes sont prises par les personnages du récit sous leur influence. En plus, les oracles fonctionnent, si l'on peut dire, à leur gré, car les prophéties, aussi bien celle qui concerne le pouvoir futur de Kypsélos (reçue par celui-ci), que celles qui concernent le danger de la part de l'enfant (la prophétie reçue par le père et rapportée aux Bacchiades, ainsi que la prophétie donnée directement aux Bacchiades), ne sont pas du tout sollicitées³⁰. Les signaux viennent soudainement du dieu delphique.

²⁸ Je me suis occupé de ce problème dans mon mémoire de maîtrise, présenté à l'Université de Varsovie en 1993 (*L'étiologie comme un principe de la composition des «Histoires» d'Hérodote d'Halicarnasse* — en polonais). Mes conclusions s'approchent, dans une certaine mesure, des résultats des analyses de H. FRÄNKEL, *Eine Stileigenheit der frühgriechischen Literatur*, dans *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*, éd. F. Tietze, München 1960, p. 40-96.

²⁹ Selon G. ROUX, Κυψέλη. *Où avait-on caché le petit Kypsélos?*, *REA* 65 (1963), p. 279-289, dans la forme originelle de la légende, il a dû s'agir non pas d'un coffre, mais d'une ruche.

³⁰ L'oracle donné à Kypsélos, ainsi que celui donné à Éétion (reçu ἰθέως, cf. le commentaire *ad loc.* de G. NENCI [n. 22]), semble être prononcé par la Pythie tout de suite, avant la question de la part du visiteur. Tel est, je crois, le sens de l'exclamation initiale: Ὀλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει, Κύψελος Ἡετίδης, qui témoigne de la reconnaissance du héros justement au moment de son entrée dans le sanctuaire. Ce qui est, d'ailleurs, un *topos* littéraire assez répandu: voir, par exemple, Hdt. VII 140.1. Cf., de manière générale, J. FONTENROSE, *op.cit.* (n. 14), p. 166-224, surtout p. 183.

Néanmoins, il est vrai, le contenu des oracles peut paraître parfois difficile à réconcilier avec leur contexte. Citée par Hérodote comme première, la réponse *περὶ γόνου* donnée à Éétion (92β2), a été depuis longtemps un défi pour plusieurs savants. Elle contient, certes, des éléments ambigus. A première vue, Éétion doit simplement être assuré qu'il pourra avoir des enfants. En effet, la Pythie le salue par une phrase chargée d'assonances (Ἡετίων οὐτίς σε τίει πολύτιτον ἐόντα), après quoi elle lui donne des raisons pour lesquelles, méprisé, il mérite d'être honoré³¹. Sa femme Labda est grosse, elle porte et enfantera une pierre roulante³²; née, la pierre s'abattra sur les hommes régnants (ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι). La signification de ces mots, quoique assez ambiguë, peut être éclairée, on le verra, à partir de la prophétie donnée aux Bacchiades. Mais le dernier hémistiche pose des problèmes: δικαίωσε δὲ Κόρινθον. Qu'est ce que ça veut dire? Sans aucun doute, l'honneur du père résultera du destin de son fils futur. Est-ce que son fils «châtiera Corinthe»³³, ou «rendra justice à la cité»³⁴? Les opinions sont partagées; il y a aussi des savants qui pensent à une ambiguïté délibérément choisie par la Pythie³⁵.

³¹ En effet, après une adresse solennelle et emphatique, il y a une suite de propositions coordonnées, liées par une série de particules (δέ — δέ — δέ) et dont la première a le verbe au présent, les autres au futur. A la fin, la culmination (δικαίωσε). On a l'impression d'une explication de l'honneur attribué à Éétion par la Pythie. Puisqu'on a affaire avec un texte poétique, il ne faut pas s'inquiéter de ce qu'il n'y a pas un γάρ après πολύτιτον. Le caractère explicatif de l'ensemble est assez évident. A propos de τίω, voir *Iliade* I 508 (Achille dénué de τιμή et de γέρας, 503-510); IX 238; *Odyssée* XIII 129 — où le verbe semble s'appliquer à un homme dépourvu de l'honneur qu'il mérite (cf. G. NENCI [n. 22], *ad loc.*).

³² Sur l'homérisme ὀλοοίτροχος (cf. *Iliade* XIII 137; tout le passage 136-154, où il s'agit d'Héctor qui sent en lui-même une vigueur divine et que rien ne saurait arrêter, a pu être un modèle de l'image de notre prophétie), voir G. NENCI (n. 22), *ad loc.*; et J.-P. VERNANT, *Tyran boiteux* (n. 12), surtout p. 58-67. Le mot est employé également par Hérodote à VIII 52.2. Il a dû être particulièrement parlant pour les Corinthiens, cf. G. ROUX, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 281.

³³ Trad. de Ph.E. LEGRAND; ainsi également: A. OERI, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 18; H.W. PARKE — D.E.W. WORMELL, *op. cit.* (n. 3) II, p. 116; H. STEIN, *Herodotos erklärt ...*, vol. III, Berlin 1894⁵, *ad loc.* (δικαίωσε = κολάσει); W.W. HOW — J. WELLS, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, vol. II, Oxford—New York 1928, *ad loc.* («chastise»); S.M. Medaglia dans l'édition de G. NENCI (n. 22), p. 103, ainsi que G. NENCI, *ad loc.*

³⁴ E. WILL, *Korinthiaka* (n. 1), p. 451; A. ANDREWES, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 47; W. DEN BOER, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 339; M.V. SKRZHINSKAYA, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 67. R. CRAHAY, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 236, évite la question, il paraphrase: «renversera les autocrates et régira Corinthe».

³⁵ W. DEN BOER, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 339; dans une certaine mesure aussi G. NENCI (n. 22), *ad loc.*; S.I. OOST, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 17 (aussi n. 31); V. COSTANZI, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 15-16.

L'analogie entre cet oracle et celui reçu par les Bacchiades (92β2 *ad fin.*), est favorable à l'interprétation qui attribue au verbe δικαίω le sens de «châtier»³⁶. La comparaison semble suggérer que le verbe au futur (δικαίώσει) fait pendant à l'expression homérique πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει qui apparaît en 92β3. En outre, on peut penser que l'accomplissement des deux oracles est sous-entendu dans les phrases finales du récit sur Kypsélos: «Et voici comment se comporta Kypsélos, quand il fut devenu tyran: il bannit beaucoup de Corinthiens, en priva beaucoup de leurs biens, et bien davantage de la vie» (πολλοὺς μὲν Κορινθίων ἐδίωξε, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων ἀπεστέρησε, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλείους τῆς ψυχῆς — 92ε2)³⁷. Mais, dans ce cas, on peut se demander pourquoi Kypsélos va «châtier Corinthe», la cité entière? Est-ce que nous sommes forcés d'accepter l'interprétation de Will d'après laquelle δικαίώσει δὲ Κόρινθον signifierait: «soumettra Corinthe à la justice»? Cette interprétation serait très commode du point de vue du modèle traditionnel de la tyrannie archaïque.

Selon plusieurs savants, il faut surtout tenir compte de l'image aristotélicienne du tyran-législateur ou même «démagogue», qui s'appuie sur le peuple aux dépens de l'aristocratie au sein de la *polis* archaïque. En plus, si l'on pense que le récit de Kypsélos est dû à une tradition favorable au tyran et contemporaine des Kypsélides, on est tenté de soupçonner dans notre oracle une pièce de la propagande de la tyrannie. E. Will ajoute que l'idée du châtement de la cité n'aurait pu naître à l'époque où les tyrans régnaient à Corinthe³⁸.

Cela pose, cependant, un problème. Même s'il s'agit d'une tradition favorable au fondateur de la dynastie, la prophétie en question est en tout cas issue de Delphes, ou du moins elle fait semblant de l'être. Or, les rapports des Kypsélides avec les grands sanctuaires grecs et leurs largesses à leur égard nous font penser que la Pythie a dû être bien disposée envers ses bienfaiteurs, du moins au temps où ils étaient au pouvoir³⁹. S'il en est ainsi, on est tenté d'établir une sorte de chronologie

³⁶ Cf. G. NENCI (n. 22), *ad loc.*; A. OERI, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 18, n. 1; H. STEIN (n. 33), *ad loc.*

³⁷ La tradition manuscrite donne πλείστους, mais pour comprendre le texte il faut accepter la conjecture de Bekker (πλείους ou πλεῦνας). Il faut lire, avec la «famille romaine», δ' ἔτι au lieu de δέ τι (lecture de Krueger, acceptée par la plupart des éditeurs).

³⁸ *Korinthiaka* (n. 1), p. 451.

³⁹ La largesse des Kypsélides: Hérodote I 14.2; Platon, *Phaedrus* 236b; Aristote *Pol.* V 1313b; [Aristote], *Oeconom.* II 1346a 32-33; Strabon VIII 353, 378; Pausanias V 2.3;

relative des oracles dans l'épisode de Kypsélos, de les mettre en rapport avec une évolution présumée des sentiments de la Pythie à l'égard des tyrans de Corinthe selon les changements de la situation politique. On pense d'habitude que la troisième prophétie, destinée à Kypsélos lui-même (92ε2), appartient au moment historique où le sanctuaire accordait des faveurs aux Kypsélides (voir l'adresse emphatique: βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου), sauf pour le dernier vers qui prédit la chute inévitable de la dynastie (αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παίδων γε μὲν οὐκ ἐτι παῖδες), et qui aurait été élaboré après coup. Des deux autres oracles, le premier devrait justifier l'usurpation du pouvoir, le deuxième, mal compris par les Bacchiades, inciter ou justifier l'opposition à la tyrannie⁴⁰.

Malheureusement, si l'on raisonne ainsi, on tombe dans un cercle vicieux. En effet, les tentatives pour sauver l'historicité des oracles (même s'il s'agit d'une «historicité relative», c'est-à-dire de phases différentes de la propagande delphique *ex eventu* et/ou d'une double rédaction des prophéties) sont solidaires de la tendance «analytique» à chercher dans le texte diverses couches d'informations traditionnelles, qui auraient été bien établies avant l'intervention littéraire d'Hérodote et qu'il aurait utilisées mécaniquement.

R. Crahay, le seul, à ma connaissance, qui ait aperçu la nécessité de s'interroger surtout sur la fonction des oracles dans le récit, a remarqué qu'on a ici affaire à un procédé littéraire qui consiste en la convergence des prophéties, et qu'il faut tenir compte de leurs liens mutuels⁴¹. Cependant, sa conclusion finale, quoique assez vague, me paraît exagérée. Il pense en effet à une falsification de toutes ces réponses oraculaires⁴². A mon avis, il n'est pas possible de trancher la question de l'authenticité des pièces. Il me paraît, d'autre part, vraisemblable qu'aux temps d'Hérodote, plusieurs oracles, ayant trait aux Kypsélides — et non seulement les trois qu'il rapporte — étaient en circulation. Je crois qu'il faut chercher, dans le récit en question, une logique interne, fondée précisément sur un choix parmi plusieurs données, et notamment parmi plu-

Plutarque, *Septem sap. conv.* 164a; *Pyth. or.* 400d-e; Souda et Photius s.v. Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. ANDREWES, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 46-47; J. HART, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 42. A. OERI, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 18-19, considère les deux oracles, ainsi que le dernier vers du troisième, comme des falsifications, dues à la propagande delphique, élaborées après la chute de la tyrannie afin de cacher la politique précédente, favorable aux Kypsélides.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 239.

⁴² *Op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 237-241. Cf., néanmoins, le compte rendu déjà cité (n. 27) de J. DEFRADES, p. 538-539.

sieurs prophéties, appartenant à un riche ensemble de traditions relatives à la tyrannie de Corinthe. Tous les oracles qui n'auraient pas été choisis par l'historien, auraient par la suite disparu.

IV

Revenons-en maintenant, après ces considérations préalables, aux deux premiers oracles, celui donné à Éétion et celui donné aux Bacchiades:

Ἡετίων, οὗτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔοντα.
 Λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον· ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται
 ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαίωσει δὲ Κόρινθον.

Les Bacchiades

n'avaient pas trouvé de sens à l'oracle reçu auparavant au sujet de Corinthe, qui faisait allusion à la même chose que celui d'Éétion [...]. Mais alors, quand ils eurent connaissance de celui qu'avait reçu Éétion, aussitôt ils comprirent aussi le précédent, qui s'accordait avec lui (92β3–γ1).

En effet, l'oracle rendu à Éétion présente une similitude évidente avec celui qui avait été rendu plus tôt aux Bacchiades, en ce qui concerne la forme, le sens et la portée. Voici cet oracle:

αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι κύει, τέξει δὲ λέοντα
 καρτερόν ὤμηστίην· πολλῶν δ' ὑπὸ γούνατα λύσει.
 ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι, οἱ περὶ καλὴν
 Πειρήνην οἰκεῖτε καὶ ὄφρυον ἔοντα Κόρινθον.

Par des jeux de mots, les oracles se complètent mutuellement. Le commencement nous le montre bien: αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι — Ἡετίων, qui, comme le lecteur l'a déjà appris (β1), est δήμου ... ἐκ Πέτρης⁴³. A quoi s'ajoute aussi ὀλοοίτροχος, «la pierre roulante» de la première prophétie, à lier, à la fois, avec ἐν πέτρῃσι et ἐκ Πέτρης. A la fin, également, on trouve des ressemblances frappantes. La dernière phrase δικαίωσει δὲ Κόρινθον correspond à la deuxième moitié de la réponse aux Bacchiades: ταῦτά νυν εὖ φράζεσθε, Κορίνθιοι κτλ. La structure

⁴³ Sur la valeur proverbiale de l'«aigle au milieu des rochers», cf. G. NENCI (n. 22), *ad loc.*; R. CRAHAY, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 237; le lien avec la topographie de Corinthe a été indiqué par G. ROUX, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 281-282. Cf. aussi *Odyssée* XIX 536-550 et XXII 299-303.

aussi est la même. On commence par des jeux de mots convergents (αἰετός — Ἡετίων, ἐν πέτρῃσι etc.) qui suggèrent d'un coup l'analogie entre les deux prophéties; ensuite, l'information actuelle (au présent) de la grossesse providentielle (κύει κτλ.); puis, le résultat, la future progéniture dangereuse (au futur: τέξει δὲ κτλ.); enfin, d'une part, des conséquences terribles concernant les Bacchiades, et d'autre part, le point culminant du destin du fils d'Éétion (δικαιώσει δὲ Κόρινθον). La réponse reçue par les Bacchiades donne, de surcroît, un avertissement aux «Corinthiens», sous la forme traditionnelle (ταῦτά νυν εἰ φράζεσθε).

La situation est très intéressante, car l'avertissement final et la phrase problématique (δικαιώσει κτλ.) ont la même valeur, ils expliquent le sens des oracles: le danger extrême pour les Bacchiades, l'honneur qu'Éétion aura grâce aux actions futures de son fils. Étant donné que les analogies sont tellement précises et que les associations phoniques sont tellement frappantes, il n'est pas surprenant que les Bacchiades aient compris tout de suite ce qui se passait.

Or, si les deux prophéties disent le même, quelle est la différence entre elles? Je n'en vois qu'une seule, mais fondamentale. On a ici deux perspectives opposées. Deux points de vue, dus à l'optique des deux destinataires adverses des prophéties.

L'oracle destiné aux Bacchiades est surtout, bien entendu, un avertissement qui ne peut être négligé. Pour Hérodote, cependant, il remplit également une fonction narrative: «cet oracle, rendu précédemment, ne permettait de rien conjecturer (τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ... πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρτον); mais alors, quand ils eurent connaissance de celui qu'avait reçu Éétion, aussitôt ils comprirent aussi le précédent». Dans le récit, l'accent repose évidemment sur la deuxième moitié de la réponse. La phrase: «pensez-y bien, Corinthiens», annonce ce qui va suivre, c'est-à-dire le fait que les oligarques, effectivement, comprirent (συνῆκαν) les deux oracles. Ils comprirent, à juste titre, l'expression εἰ φράζεσθε comme une incitation, de la part du dieu delphique, à faire quelque chose. Leur décision, quoique cruelle, est nécessaire et la seule possible, leur comportement raisonnable: «l'ayant compris (συνέντες), ils n'en dirent mot (εἶχον ἐν ἡσυχίῃ); leur intention était de faire périr l'enfant qui naîtrait d'Éétion» (92γ1).

Les Bacchiades se situent ainsi dans une catégorie bien définie de personnages tragiques: quoiqu'ils aient compris l'avertissement divin, ils sont condamnés à une chute inévitable, car «il fallait que la descendance

d'Éétion fût pour Corinthe le germe d'infortunes» (92δ1). De ce point de vue, l'oracle fournit aussi le cadre d'une partie de la composition de l'épisode de Kypsélos, qui culmine dans la scène du «sauvetage» de l'enfant. Il annonce, en même temps, la catastrophe tragique des Bacchiades: le lecteur comprend que ceux-ci ne sauront pas se garder efficacement du danger. Ainsi qu'on le voit, le rôle narratif de l'oracle est clair.

Il faut expliquer, enfin, le sens de la prophétie à Éétion. Je répète la question: est-il possible d'entendre δικαιώσει au sens de «il châtiara Corinthe»? Une autre question s'impose, qui d'ordinaire échappe à l'attention des chercheurs: pourquoi Éétion «mérite-t-il grandement d'être honoré» en tant que père du tyran?

Tout comme dans le cas précédent, il faut surtout tenir compte du destinataire de l'oracle. Éétion reçoit la prédiction du pouvoir de son fils. La prophétie est d'autant plus frappante qu'on a une situation semblable ailleurs dans le récit d'Hérodote. Il s'agit d'un épisode du livre I (59.1-3).

Il était arrivé à Hippocrate [*le futur père du tyran Pisistrate d'Athènes*], alors qu'il assistait comme simple particulier (ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ) aux fêtes d'Olympie, un grand prodige (τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα). Il avait sacrifié les victimes d'usage, les chaudrons étaient dressés, remplis de chair et d'eau; sans feu allumé, ils se mirent à bouillir et débordèrent. Chilon de Lacédémone, qui se trouvait là par hasard et était spectateur du prodige (τὸ τέρας), donna à Hippocrate ces conseils: premièrement, ne pas épouser une femme qui pût avoir des enfants; deuxièmement, s'il en avait une, la renvoyer; et, s'il avait un fils, le répudier. Hippocrate, dit-on, ne voulut pas suivre ces avis de Chilon; et, par la suite, il lui naquit Pisistrate.

On pourrait nier l'importance de cet épisode, en s'appuyant sur le fait que Chilon est un éphore de Sparte et que son hostilité à la tyrannie va de soi⁴⁴. Il est cependant évident que Chilon appartient au groupe des personnages que nous appelons les «sages conseillers» et dont la fonction dramatique dans l'œuvre d'Hérodote n'est pas douteuse⁴⁵. En plus,

⁴⁴ A propos de Chilon, cf. D. ASHERI (n. 20), *comm. ad loc.*

⁴⁵ Cf., à titre d'exemple, H. BISCHOFF, *Der Warner bei Herodot.*, Diss. Marburg, Borna-Leipzig 1932 (dont on trouve des extraits dans *Herodot. Eine Auswahl der neueren Forschung* [n. 16], p. 302-319); R. LATTIMORE, *The Wise Adviser in Herodotus*, *CPh* 34 (1939), p. 24-35; récemment, cf. C.B.R. PELLING, *art. cit.* (n. 7), surtout p. 120-121, qui souligne que chez Homère, Hérodote et Thucydide, il ne s'agit pas seulement de la sagesse des «conseillers», mais aussi de montrer les «limitations as well as the value of human wisdom and insight» (p. 120).

pour l'historien aussi bien que pour son public, il fut un des «Sept Sages»⁴⁶. Ses conseils sont donc à suivre.

Les circonstances des deux épisodes sont semblables. Hippocrate aussi bien qu'Éétion reçoivent une annonce qui contraste avec leur situation actuelle. Rappelons les mots de la Pythie à Éétion (οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔόντα). Le père futur de Pisistrate est qualifié par Hérodote d'ἰδιώτης⁴⁷. Peu importe de savoir s'il s'agit du caractère privé de son séjour à Olympie ou de son statut au sein de sa communauté, à Athènes⁴⁸. La fonction essentielle du prodige d'Hippocrate et de l'oracle reçu par Éétion est la même: ce sont des signes qui annoncent la naissance d'un tyran. Mais le sage qui se trouve à Olympie considère le prodige d'Hippocrate comme terrible et dangereux, tandis que la Pythie salue Éétion comme «digne d'être grandement honoré». Pourquoi une différence aussi grande? Le contenu du discours de Soclès, quoique assez vague pour le moment, nous donne une image noire de la tyrannie à Corinthe. Le fils du Corinthien va tuer et bannir beaucoup de gens dans sa cité; il sera un modèle du tyran cruel, comme le sera aussi son fils. Le comportement de Pisistrate, en revanche, ne sera jamais tellement mauvais, et son fils, Hippias, ne deviendra un despote féroce qu'après l'attentat à son frère. On peut donc se demander en quoi consiste la différence entre les deux pères futurs, ou bien, pourquoi Chilon est terrifié par le prodige d'Hippocrate⁴⁹.

La question à poser est, à mon avis, qui sera mis en danger par la naissance de Pisistrate et quel est le point de vue de Chilon. La digression entière sur la tyrannie à Athènes (I 59-65.1) sert à montrer les raisons de la faiblesse des Athéniens, du «peuple athénien (τὸ Ἀττικόν), asservi (κατεχόμενον) et divisé (διεσπασμένον) sous Pisistrate fils

⁴⁶ Malgré l'opinion de D. FEHLING, qui pense que la liste des Sages a été inventée par Platon: cf. *Die sieben Weisen und die frühgriechische Chronologie. Eine traditionsge-schichtliche Studie*, Bern-Frankfurt-New York 1985, *passim*. De manière générale, cf. récemment R.P. MARTIN, *The Seven Sages as Performers of Wisdom*, dans *Cultural Poetics in Archaic Greece. Cult, Performance, Politics*, éd. C. Dougherty – L. Kurke, Cambridge 1993, p. 108-128.

⁴⁷ Voir J.E. POWELL, *A Lexicon to Herodotus*, Hildesheim 1960², s.v.: «private citizen, op. king or official». Cf. aussi I 32.1; I 70.3; I 123.1; II 174.1; IV 73.1; VI 57.3; VII 3.2.

⁴⁸ Ph.E. LEGRAND: «alors qu'il assistait comme simple particulier», tandis que V. Antelami (dans D. ASHERI [n. 20], p. 63): «Ippocrate [...] che era un semplice cittadino e assisteva ai giochi di Olimpia».

⁴⁹ Un autre exemple d'un avertissement terrifiant de la part d'Apollon: Euripide, *Phoen.* 17-19.

d'Hippocrate, alors tyran d'Athènes» (59.1)⁵⁰. Les mots cités précèdent immédiatement l'épisode du sacrifice d'Hippocrate. Une digression parallèle vise, au contraire, à montrer les origines de la puissance de Sparte (I 65-68.6). Elles sont à lier, selon Hérodote, à l'introduction d'un régime de bonnes lois (εὐνομία), grâce aux réformes de Lycurgue (65.2-66.1)⁵¹. Je crois que ce n'est pas par hasard que le «sage conseiller» d'Hérodote dans cet épisode est un éphore spartiate, un Lacédémonien, pour ainsi dire, un agent du «régime de bonnes lois». L'opposition bien marquée des deux récits voisins me semble souligner des liaisons fortes entre l'εὐνομία et la puissance d'une cité. Or, le conseil de Chilon concerne l'avenir d'Athènes. L'éphore adresse la parole à un Athénien, à un citoyen d'une cité libre⁵². Pour un homme comme lui, le régime d'un tyran doit être inacceptable. Car le pouvoir d'un individu marque la fin de la liberté des hommes pourvus de droits politiques. C'est pour cela qu'Hérodote n'a pas besoin d'éclaircir la situation et le conseil de Chilon⁵³. Pour son public, il va de soi qu'Hippocrate aussi est menacé, en tant que citoyen, et averti par le prodige terrifiant. Le τέρας est donc destiné à lui-même ainsi qu'aux Athéniens en général.

L'épisode de l'avertissement de Chilon contient donc un motif très proche d'un motif présent dans les ensembles mythiques mentionnés au début de mon travail (p. 208-209). Dans ces cas-là, le fils qui va naître est dangereux pour le personnage qui, prévenu, essaie de se prémunir, en décidant de tuer le nouveau-né. Malgré les variantes, l'essentiel est le même: il s'agit du destin tragique de faire périr sa propre famille, ses

⁵⁰ Cf. aussi I 65.1 (τοιαῦτα κατέχοντα).

⁵¹ Cf. les conclusions de l'historien: I 68.6 et les mots de Crésus aux Lacédémoniens: 69.2. A propos de Lycurgue, voir le commentaire de D. ASHERI (n. 20), *ad* I 65 (8-9).

⁵² Cf., d'ailleurs, le mot célèbre d'Hérodote dans V 78, avec le commentaire *ad loc.* de B. VIRGILIO, *Commento storico al quinto libro delle 'Storie' di Erodoto*, Pisa 1975.

⁵³ Une situation assez proche, le rêve prophétique de la mère future de Périclès (l'enfantement d'un lion, VI 131.2), ne saurait être un parallèle exact. Certes, l'historien ne commente pas ce symbole équivoque. Cependant, le message ne s'adresse pas à Agariste mais au public contemporain de l'écrivain (et de Périclès). Cf. le même symbole dans l'oracle reçu par Hipparque (V 56.1). Pour l'interprétation courante de ce passage, voir G. NENCI (n. 22), *ad* V 92b3 et *ad* V 56.1; pour une interprétation différente, voir H. STRASBURGER, *Herodot und das perikleische Athen*, *Historia* 4 (1955), p. 3, 16-17 (avec la littérature citée); Rosalind THOMAS, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1989, p. 270-277 (de manière générale; cf. aussi p. 261-282); C.W. FARNARA, *Herodotus. An Interpretative Essay*, Oxford 1971, p. 53-58. Une autre interprétation, décidément naïve, cf., par exemple, W.W. HOW – J. WELLS (n. 33), *ad* VI 131.2.

racines, soi-même, son être collectif⁵⁴. Dans le cas d'Hippocrate, il s'agit d'un motif déjà appartenant à l'«imaginaire de la cité». Le danger menace le père futur du tyran en tant que membre de la communauté politique.

L'oracle d'Éétion fait une tout autre impression. D'abord, malgré l'importance de la symbolique du lion et de la «pierre roulante», il faut observer que le sens principal est déterminé par le rapport entre les deux pôles de la composition: le premier vers exprime la situation actuelle («personne ne t'honore»), le dernier hémistiche présente le résultat attendu de la grossesse de la femme d'Éétion (δικαιώσει).

Le statut du destinataire est très différent de celui d'Hippocrate. Premièrement, une oligarchie, les Bacchiades seuls, gouvernent la ville. Deuxièmement, ils marient leurs filles et prennent femme entre eux. Troisièmement, un membre de ce clan a une fille boiteuse, Labda, que, par conséquent, aucun Bacchiade ne veut épouser. Enfin, «son mari fut Éétion fils d'Echécratès, du bourg Pétra, mais Lapithe d'origine et descendant de Kaineus» (92β1)⁵⁵. Il y a là plusieurs degrés d'exclusion: Éétion est exclu du pouvoir politique et des rapports d'intermariage avec les oligarques⁵⁶; il reçoit Labda qui, à cause de son infirmité prodigieuse⁵⁷, est exclue du cercle aristocratique et mariée en dehors, avec quelqu'un d'inférieur⁵⁸.

Le fait que les Bacchiades constituent un groupe fermé, témoigne de leur orgueil inadmissible, de leur ὕβρις extrême. Ils méritent, assurément,

⁵⁴ De ce point de vue, on n'a pas affaire simplement avec des traces d'un rite initiatique. On trouve, en effet, toujours des conséquences terribles de la succession brisée (cf. J.-P. VERNANT, *Tyran boiteux* (n. 12), *passim*). Des meurtres et crimes domestiques sont présents dans tous les cas cités. L'ascension triomphale et prodigieuse au pouvoir n'est qu'un aspect du récit, qui peut, cependant, devenir une dominante. Comme l'a montré Christiane SOURVINOU-INWOOD dans un chapitre de son livre intitulé «*Reading*» *Greek Culture. Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford 1991 («'Myth' and History: On Herodotus 3.48 and 3.50-53», p. 244-284), tel est aussi un des sens possibles du récit sur Périandre et son fils Lycophron. Il s'agit du schéma du conflit entre père et fils, schéma de caractère évidemment initiatique.

⁵⁵ Cf. G. NENCI (n. 22) et A.A. HOW – J. WELLS (n. 33), *comm. ad* 92b1.

⁵⁶ L'idée de l'exclusion politique se trouve également dans l'expression ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι de l'oracle. Quant aux relations personnelles, la traduction de Legrand (92γ2), selon laquelle Labda pensa qu'on lui demandait l'enfant «par amitié pour le père» (φιλοφροσύνης τοῦ πατρὸς εἴνεκα), est évidemment inexacte. Il s'agit de son père Amphion, un Bacchiade, le grand-père maternel de Kypsélos. Voir G. NENCI (n. 22), *ad loc.* On ne peut pas soupçonner des liens de φιλία entre Éétion et les Bacchiades.

⁵⁷ Cf. J.-P. VERNANT, *Tyran boiteux* (n. 12), *passim*; G. NENCI (n. 22), *ad loc.*

⁵⁸ Le motif de la stérilité d'Éétion me semble indiquer un autre moyen de prévention auquel le père de Labda aurait fait recours. D'autre part, on peut soupçonner qu'anciennement, c'était Labda, la Boiteuse, qui était stérile.

ment, d'être punis. Leur décision de marier Labda marque leur dédain à l'égard d'Éétion. Le rapprochement avec un épisode du livre I peut être très instructif. Un roi des Mèdes, Astyage, prévenu par un rêve du danger de la part de son petit-fils futur (il devait être roi à sa place), ne donna pas sa fille Mandane comme femme

à un des Mèdes qui auraient été dignes de lui (Μήδων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναιῖκα), par crainte de la vision; mais la donna à un Perse nommé Cambyse, en qui il trouvait un homme de bonne maison et de caractère paisible (τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου), et qu'il jugeait bien au-dessous d'un Mède de rang moyen (πολλῷ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, I 107.2).

Astyage essaie tous les moyens afin de se prémunir. Son espoir se fonde sur la distance infranchissable qui sépare les membres du cercle de l'élite médique et le reste. Il se sent, à tort, sûr.

C'est la même logique du récit qui caractérise notre épisode d'Éétion. Le mépris de la position du père de Kypsélos est évident. C'est l'inégalité des époux qui va assurer la sécurité du pouvoir des Bacchiades⁵⁹.

Or, on n'est pas étonné de voir que l'oracle en question s'ouvre par une remarque concernant l'exclusion du père du futur tyran: Ἡετίων, οὔτις σε τίει πολύτιτον ἔδοντα. La Pythie signale qu'une des raisons du dédain à l'égard d'Éétion n'existe plus — la stérilité est déjà dépassée (Λάβδα κύει). D'autre part, la composition de la prophétie s'appuie sur la tension entre le premier vers (le motif du mépris à l'égard du héros) et le dernier hémistiché (le comble de son honneur). Étant donné qu'on a certainement affaire à une réponse donnée à un particulier (περὶ γόνου), l'oracle concerne surtout Éétion et prend sa perspective. C'est la situation d'exclusion où se trouve actuellement le héros qui me paraît déterminer le sens de la prophétie. Il s'agit principalement du changement inévitable de la situation: de la chute des Bacchiades et de l'ascension au pouvoir de la progéniture d'Éétion. Il s'agit donc du châtement des outrages, de l'ὑβρις des Bacchiades à l'égard des parents exclus⁶⁰. On trouve là un motif important de la causalité hérodotéenne,

⁵⁹ Pour le rapprochement structurel entre les récits sur Kypsélos et Cyrus («il matrimonio misto»), cf. aussi R. VATTUONE, *Recherche su Timeo: la «pueritia» di Agatocle*, Bologna 1983, p. 23-31.

⁶⁰ Cependant, il y a un autre aspect de la prophétie. L'honneur d'Éétion est, bien entendu, lié aussi au pouvoir de son fils. Car la domination, la tyrannie est fort recherchée dans une société dirigée par l'esprit agonistique. Sur les ἀγαθά de la tyrannie cf., à titre d'exemple, H. FRÄNKEL, *art. cit.* (n. 28), p. 67-68 n. 3; M. STAHL, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 209-210.

à savoir une τιμωρή qui déclenche l'action de l'épisode⁶¹. S'il en est ainsi, «soumettra Corinthe à la justice» est une traduction inacceptable⁶².

Il reste à s'interroger pourquoi Kypsélos va châtier «Corinthe», la cité entière. Je vois deux explications possibles. D'abord, les mots en question ne peuvent être séparés du contexte immédiat. «Il fallait», dit Hérodote, «que la descendance d'Éétion fût pour Corinthe le germe d'infortunes» (ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος γόνου κακὰ Κορίνθῳ ἀναβλαστεῖν, 92δ1)⁶³. L'hémistiche de l'oracle annonce ce que l'écrivain déclarera dans cette phrase et fournit le lien formel entre le récit de l'enfance de Kypsélos et la série des prophéties initiales. A part des problèmes généraux dont je parlerai plus tard, on pourrait percevoir ici des traces d'une croyance ancienne sous-jacente, présente dans la pensée grecque également aux temps d'Hérodote, à savoir que le comportement mauvais et coupable du roi souille la cité, le pays entier⁶⁴. Cependant, vu le caractère exclusif de l'oligarchie corinthienne, il est vraisemblable que le châtiment de Corinthe veut dire simplement la destruction du corps dirigeant de la cité, à savoir des Bacchiades⁶⁵. D'autant plus qu'Hérodote me semble suggérer, dès le début du discours de Soclès, que la tyrannie à Corinthe a été rendue possible par un autre malheur, l'oligarchie. Les κακά du pouvoir de l'individu résul-

⁶¹ Cf., à titre d'exemple, Jacqueline DE ROMILLY, *La vengeance comme explication historique dans l'œuvre d'Hérodote*, REG 84 (1971), p. 314-337. Sur la causalité hérodoteenne voir également, de manière générale, K.-A. PAGEL, *Die Bedeutung des aitiologischen Momentes für Herodots Geschichtsschreibung*, Borna-Leipzig 1927; H.R. IMMERWAHR, *Aspects of Historical Causation in Herodotus*, TAPhA 87 (1956), p. 241-280; D. ASHERI (n. 20), p. XLIII-LII; Mabel I. LANG, *Herodotean Narrative and Discourse*, Cambridge (MA) – London 1984, p. 73-79; A. CORCELLA, *Erodoto e l'analogia*, Palermo 1984, p. 163-178; J. GOULD, *Herodotus*, London 1989, p. 42-85; récemment P. DEROW, *Historical Explanation: Polybius and his Predecessors*, dans le recueil *Greek Historiography*, éd. S. Hornblower, Oxford 1994, p. 73-81.

⁶² On peut s'appuyer sur un passage parallèle à notre oracle, de caractère également solennel. On lit chez Théognis (v. 39-40): Κύρνη, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα εὐθυντήρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης. Il y a là aussi l'idée de vengeance, mais la perspective est, bien entendu, inverse. Cf. ci-dessous, p. 250-251.

⁶³ Cf. ci-dessous, p. 254-256 avec les notes.

⁶⁴ Cf. par exemple Hésiode, *Travaux* 225-247; Homère, *Od.* XIX 109-114 (un modèle positif). Voir aussi J.-P. VERNANT, *Ambiguïté et renversement. Sur la structure énigmatique d'«Oedipe-Roi»*, dans J.-P. VERNANT – P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1973, surtout p. 122-123. Je dois cette remarque à M. David Daix.

⁶⁵ Une analogie s'impose ici: dans l'*Odyssée* (XXIII 121-122) Ulysse remarque: ἡμεῖς δ' ἔρμα πόλῃος ἀπέκταμεν, οἳ μέγ' ἄριστοι κούρων εἰν Ἰθάκῃ.

tent donc, tout comme chez Théognis et Solon, de l'orgueil des ἡγεμόνες⁶⁶.

L'oracle destiné à Kypsélos lui-même appartient à la troisième partie de l'épisode en question. Après avoir présenté la partie préliminaire (l'annonce du destin du fils d'Éétion, ainsi que l'avertissement donné au Bacchiades) et la scène du double sauvetage de l'enfant (le sourire divin et la κυψέλη), Hérodote passe brièvement à l'accomplissement des prophéties, c'est-à-dire au point culminant du récit. Il s'agit des actions de Kypsélos, une fois devenu tyran de Corinthe. Il y a là des éléments qui peuvent paraître bizarres. D'abord, la brièveté exceptionnelle de ce qui devait être apparemment le plus important. Ensuite, c'est une réponse de la Pythie (qu'Éétion interprète comme étant favorable⁶⁷) qui l'incite à conquérir le pouvoir à Corinthe. Mais la bénédiction de Delphes n'empêche pas qu'il soit un tyran cruel qui bannit, prive de biens et tue beaucoup de Corinthiens (92ε2). Qui plus est, l'historien conclut, de manière surprenante: «Après un règne de trente années et une vie tissée jusqu'au bout de jours heureux (διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὖ), il eut pour successeur au pouvoir son fils Périandre» (92ζ1). Comment réconcilier la bénédiction divine du tyran avec sa cruauté et, ce qui est beaucoup plus inquiétant, avec les idées morales et religieuses de l'écrivain?

Il suffit de penser à la discussion fameuse de Crésus avec le sage Solon. L'idée centrale, l'essentiel de l'enseignement de cet autre «sage conseiller», c'est qu'il faut «considérer en toutes choses la fin (ἡ

⁶⁶ «Une oligarchie, dont les membres, appelés les Bacchiades, gouvernaient la ville, mariant leurs filles et prenant femme entre eux» (ἦν ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ οἱ οὗτοι Βακχιάδαι καλεόμενοι ἔνεμον τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδωσαν δὲ καὶ ἦγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων, V 92β1). Cf. ci-dessus, n. 62; de manière générale aussi Théognis, v. 39-52; Solon, fr. 4 West (= 3 Gentili-Prato), v. 5-39.

⁶⁷ Quel est le sens d'ἀμφιδέξιον χρηστήριον? Legrand et Nenci pensent à un oracle «favorable». Stein a soutenu (*ad loc.*) que le terme ne peut être traduit par «zweideutig» (ἀμφίβολον) (bien qu'il ait ce sens chez Lucien, *Iuppiter tragoedus* 43, où il s'agit de l'oracle ambigu reçu par Crésus). Dans des cas semblables Hérodote utilise d'ordinaire le mot κίβδηλος. Selon Stein, «ἀμφιδέξιος ist eigentl. = ἀμφοτέρωθεν δεξιός und bezeichnet bei Menschen und Dingen eine allseitige, ungewöhnliche Geschicklichkeit und Brauchbarkeit». Par conséquent, il s'agit ici de «ein 'doppeltgünstiger Orakelspruch', vielleicht mit Hindeutung auf die doppelte Herrschaft, des Vaters und des Sohnes, die er verspricht». Le contexte (on le verra plus bas), nous invite à une autre interprétation. Le rapprochement entre l'oracle de Kypsélos et deux cas semblables m'amène à conclure qu'il est question d'une prophétie qui prédit la fin de la dynastie (cf. Hdt. I 13.2 et IV 163.2). Voir, en outre, ci-dessous, p. 230, surtout n. 73. Le mot ἀμφιδέξιον veut dire, réellement, «ambigu», ou plutôt, pour ainsi dire, «à deux tranchants» — tout comme chez Lucien. Cf. aussi le commentaire *ad loc.* de A.A. How – J. Wells (n. 33); ainsi J. Kirchberg, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 76-77.

τελευτή), et comment elles tourneront; car il y a eu déjà beaucoup de gens à qui la destinée [*en fait*, ὁ θεός — M.W.] a laissé voir le bonheur (ὄλβος) et qu'elle a renversés de fond en comble» (I 32.9 *ad fin.*). «[...] La divinité (τὸ θεῖον) est toute jalousie (φθονερόν) et aime à semer le trouble (ταραχῶδες)» (32.1)⁶⁸. «Dans ces conditions l'homme n'est que vicissitude» (πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορή, 32.4 *ad fin.*). Seulement «l'homme qui passe sa vie en possession de beaucoup de biens et ensuite la termine doucement (τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον), celui-là a le droit d'obtenir le titre [*d'heureux*, ὄλβιος — M.W.]» (32.9). Il s'agit d'un homme qui est «sans infirmités, sans maladies, à l'abri des maux, qui a de beaux enfants (εὖπαις), qui est beau; si, de plus, il a encore une belle fin de vie (τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ) [...], le voilà celui qui mérite d'être appelé heureux (ὄλβιος κεκλήσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι); mais, avant la mort, attendons, ne disons pas encore qu'il soit heureux [...]» (I 32.6-7). On a ici, bien entendu, un idéal qui va mettre Crésus en garde contre l'aspiration dangereuse au titre d'«heureux». Pourtant, pourquoi Kypsélos lui-même mérite-t-il d'être nommé (par la Pythie!) ὄλβιος, pourquoi est-il digne, en plus, de terminer sa vie bien (εὖ)⁶⁹? Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé avec la justice divine, ailleurs tellement importante pour Hérodote, lorsqu'un despote brutal a droit au bonheur le plus souhaitable?

Je crois qu'on peut essayer de répondre à ces questions à partir d'une analyse de l'oracle destiné au futur tyran:

Ὅλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἐσκαταβαίνει
 Κύψελος Ἡετίδης, βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου
 αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, παιδῶν γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες.

Il nous faut tenir compte, encore une fois, du point de vue du destinataire de l'oracle. Selon plusieurs chercheurs, le dernier vers serait suspect, car il est défavorable aux Kypsélides; il aurait été introduit *ex eventu*, après la chute des tyrans⁷⁰. En plus, Eusèbe, citant Oinomaos de Gadare, ne donne que les deux premiers vers⁷¹. Néanmoins, il me semble possible

⁶⁸ Cf. également Hdt. III 40.2-3; VII 10ε.

⁶⁹ Au sujet des mots désignant le bonheur, voir surtout C. DE HEER, ΜΑΚΑΡ-ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ-ΟΛΒΙΟΣ-ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ. *A Study of the Semantic Field denoting Happiness in Ancient Greek to the End of the 5th Century B.C.*, Amsterdam 1969, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Cf. plus haut, p. 218-220 et n. 40.

⁷¹ *Praeparatio evangelica*, V 35, 233A. Dion Chrysostome (XXXVII 5) s'arrête au troisième vers, avant παιδῶν γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες. Comme l'a montré R. CΡΑΗΑΥ, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 240-241, il s'agit peut-être de l'intervention d'un pédant, qui aurait supprimé des mots inexacts — car le dernier Kypsélide, Psammetique, le petit-fils de Kypsélos, gouverna Corinthe malgré l'annonce de l'oracle.

d'interpréter l'oracle entier, en partant de l'idée qu'il est une partie intégrante du récit, soigneusement élaboré et bien inséré dans le contexte du discours de Soclès.

L'axe de la construction de la prophétie s'étend, une fois encore, entre deux pôles. D'un côté, l'adresse solennelle et favorable au futur tyran: "Ολβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ — βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου, αὐτὸς καὶ παῖδες, de l'autre, l'annonce du malheur des petits-fils de Kypsélos, dépourvus du pouvoir de leur grand-père: παιδῶν γε μὲν οὐκέτι παῖδες. La structure même de la pièce révèle un sens profond. Comme l'a remarqué déjà R. Crahay, «l'oracle illustre bien le thème que la grandeur du tyran est éphémère et prolonge les révélations précédentes où Apollon Pythien avait démasqué la tyrannie dès ses plus humbles débuts»⁷².

La limitation du pouvoir de la dynastie à deux générations n'est pas surprenante⁷³. On trouve ici l'idée de la punition divine suspendue jusqu'à une génération postérieure de la famille royale, idée solidaire de celle du destin de l'individu déterminé par des péchés anciens du fondateur de la famille, — ce qui est un des principes de la pensée tragique, héritée de temps bien reculés⁷⁴. Il n'est pas interdit de supposer que cette idée — bien connue à l'époque de la tragédie et soulignée par Hérodote lui-même au moyen de l'histoire exemplaire de Crésus — est suffisamment évidente pour le public de l'historien. Il faut s'attendre à ce que tous les auditeurs et lecteurs des *Histoires* partagent une croyance exprimée par le dieu delphique, précisément à propos de la suspension de la vengeance jusqu'à Crésus: «Échapper à la destinée est chose impossible, même pour un dieu» (τὴν πεπωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῶ, I 91.1)⁷⁵.

⁷² *Op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 241.

⁷³ La chute de Crésus est aussi prédite par une prophétie: «Or l'oracle le désigna; et ainsi Gygès devint roi. Toutefois, la Pythie ajouta que les Héraclides seraient vengés (ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει) sur le quatrième descendant de Gygès. Mais ni les Lydiens ni leurs rois ne tinrent aucun compte de cette prédiction avant qu'elle fût accomplie» (I 13,2, cf. le commentaire de D. ASHERI [n. 20], avec la littérature citée). Il en est de même pour la fin de la dynastie des Battiades à Cyrène. La réponse reçue par Arcésilas III est conçue ainsi: «Pour le temps de quatre Battos et quatre Arkésilas, de huit générations d'hommes, Loxias vous donne de régner sur Cyrène; mais il vous conseille de ne pas même essayer plus longtemps» (IV 163.2), cf. *comm. ad loc.* d'A. CORCELLA, *Erodoto. Le Storie*, vol. IV: *La Scizia e la Libia*. A propos des Battiades, voir F. CHAMOUX, *Cyrène sous la monarchie de Battiades*, thèse, Paris 1952.

⁷⁴ Cf., par exemple, E.R. DODDS, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1951, surtout p. 33-34.

⁷⁵ Ce sentiment est à lier à la détermination du destin individuel en général, cf. le cas de Polycrate (ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ, III 142.3); Crésus, à son tour, πέμπ-

Toutefois, on peut aller un peu plus loin. Le signal n'évoque pas seulement une idée générale. Il fait allusion à un épisode déjà connu du public de l'écrivain, présenté beaucoup plus tôt, au livre III (50-53). On pourrait à juste titre appeler ces chapitres-là un scénario tragique⁷⁶. Lycophron, après avoir appris que son père avait tué sa mère Mélissa, coupe tout lien avec Périandre. Malgré l'esprit de conciliation du tyran, il refuse de s'arranger avec le meurtrier. Enfin, Lycophron, exilé à Corcyre, périt tué par les Corcyréens, justement au moment où son père décidait de lui laisser le pouvoir à Corinthe et de se déplacer lui-même à Corcyre⁷⁷.

Le point culminant de l'épisode entier, ce sont deux conversations visant, l'une, à persuader Lycophron à rentrer à la maison de Périandre, et l'autre, à le persuader à succéder au tyran. Toutes les deux tentatives échouent, mais leur contenu est très important pour notre propos. Je cite les mots de Périandre :

Ô mon fils, lequel des deux est préférable : l'état où tu es maintenant de plein gré, ou bien, t'accommodant à la volonté de ton père, hériter de la tyrannie (ἡ τυραννίς) et des biens (τὰ ἀγαθὰ) que, moi, je possède aujourd'hui ? Tu es mon fils, prince de la riche Corinthe (ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεύς) ; et tu as choisi la vie d'un vagabond, par esprit d'opposition et par colère contre celui contre qui tu devrais, toi, le moins en avoir [...]. Pour toi, t'étant rendu compte combien il vaut mieux faire envie que pitié (ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτίρεσθαι)⁷⁸, et du même coup combien il est grave d'être irrité contre ses parents et ceux qui sont plus puissants, reviens au palais (III 52.3-6).

του γονέος ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε (I 91.1). Voir aussi E.R. DODDS, *op. cit.*, p. 34 (de manière générale, p. 1-63). A propos d'Hérodote voir par exemple *ibid.*, p. 42-43, 55-56 ; également N. MARINATOS, *Wahl und Schicksal bei Herodot.*, *Saeculum* 33 (1982), p. 258-264.

⁷⁶ R. CRAHAY, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 244-245, souligne un parallèle frappant entre la tragédie de Périandre et un autre récit dramatique, c'est-à-dire l'histoire de la mort du fils de Crésus, tué par un suppliant malheureux, malgré le rêve avertisseur du roi (I 34-45). A propos de cet épisode, cf., à titre d'exemple, B. SNELL, *Gyges und Kroisos als Tragödien-Figuren*, *ZPE* 12 (1973), p. 197-205 ; A. LESKY, *Tragödien bei Herodot.*, dans *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean* (n. 21), p. 224-230 ; K. VON FRITZ, *Die Griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, vol. I, Berlin 1967, p. 213, 223-224. De manière générale voir aussi F. HELLMANN, *Herodots Kroisos-Logos (Neue Philologische Untersuchungen, 9)*, Berlin 1934 ; H. ERBSE, *Über Herodots Kroisoslogos*, dans *Ausgewählte Schriften zur Klassischen Philologie*, Berlin-New York 1979, p. 180-202.

⁷⁷ Voir M. STAHL, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 208-210 ; Christiane SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 244-284.

⁷⁸ Cf. chez Pindare : κρέσσον γὰρ οἰκτιρμοῦ φθόνοϋ (*Pyth.* I 85).

Lorsque, plus tard, Périandre vieillit et comprend qu'il n'est pas en mesure d'administrer les affaires (τὰ πρήγματα), il invite son fils à lui succéder dans la tyrannie (53.1). L'ambassade est faite cette fois par la sœur de Lycophron:

Enfant, veux-tu voir la tyrannie tomber entre les mains d'autrui et la fortune de ton père dissipée, plutôt que de partir d'ici et de posséder toi-même l'une et l'autre? (βούλειαι τήν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μάλλον ἢ αὐτός σφε' ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν). [...] La tyrannie est chose glissante, elle a beaucoup d'amateurs; lui [*sc.* Périandre] est vieux maintenant et il a passé l'âge de la force; ne fais pas don à d'autres des biens qui sont à toi (τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηγηκώς· μὴ δῶς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι, III 53.3-4).

Une dernière fois, Périandre envoie un héraut. Lycophron, une fois revenu à Corinthe, va devenir tyran (διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος, 53.6). Malheureusement, il périt tué loin de sa patrie. C'est ce qui marque, chez Hérodote, la fin de la dynastie des Kypsélides.

Il y a là, me semble-t-il, un renversement évident par rapport à l'épisode de Kypsélos dans le discours de Soclès. Le premier tyran de Corinthe «après un règne de trente années et une vie tissée jusqu'au bout de jours heureux [...] eut pour successeur au pouvoir son fils Périandre» (διάδοχος οἱ τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ παῖς Περιανδρος γίνεται, 92ζ1). Il n'est pas douteux que les deux remarques sur le bonheur du tyran vont ensemble; qui plus est, la deuxième complète la précédente. Kypsélos meurt heureux surtout parce qu'il a un successeur de son pouvoir, le prolongement de la dynastie⁷⁹. Rappelons-nous que c'était exactement une des conditions de la vie heureuse selon Solon. Or, le successeur, Périandre, n'a pas ce bonheur. Son malheur consiste à ne pas avoir de fils qui puisse devenir son διάδοχος. Le destin pitoyable du père, c'est la querelle pernicieuse qui mène à la chute de la famille⁸⁰. Cela s'oppose à la succession harmonieuse de Kypsélos. Hérodote souligne deux fois l'image de Périandre vieillissant sans héritier (53.1, 3-4), et ajoute la dure réponse de Lycophron: il ne veut pas revenir à Corinthe tant que son père est encore vivant (53.5 *ad fin.*)⁸¹!

⁷⁹ Voir M. STAHL, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 209.

⁸⁰ Cf. aussi une autre συμφορὴ, dont Périandre est bien conscient (52.4), c'est-à-dire la mort de Mélissa.

⁸¹ En plus, pour les Grecs, la mort du fils de parents encore vivants était un malheur extrême. Il suffit de penser à Priam, Pélée, Thésée, ou Niobé.

On peut aborder, de ce point de vue, les deux entretiens avec Lycophron. Leur contenu marque également un renversement. Ils concernent les avantages de la tyrannie et le droit à la succession royale de l'héritier des Kypsélides, il s'agit de la tyrannie et des «biens» de Périandre (βούλειαι τήν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν κτλ.)⁸². Lycophron, une fois exclu par son père-tyran, se trouve, dans une certaine mesure, là où se trouvait Éétion, le père du fondateur de la dynastie — méprisé et dépourvu d'honneurs. Il doit savoir, maintenant, ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτίρεσθαι. Enfin, Lycophron reçoit un enseignement qui correspond au célèbre message silencieux de Thrasybule au jeune Périandre⁸³: la tyrannie est une chose inconstante, elle a beaucoup d'amoureux. La situation initiale de Lycophron est très bien établie: ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς [*sc.* de Périandre] καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς. Et cela a son parallèle exact dans l'oracle de Kypsélos, dans l'adresse solennelle de la part de la Pythie: Ὀλβιος ... βασιλεὺς κλειτοῖο Κορίνθου. En fait, dans le personnage du fils de Périandre on trouve, à rebours, le premier tyran de Corinthe. En même temps, le destin de Lycophron est un accomplissement précis de l'oracle, «[...] non plus les fils de ses fils»⁸⁴.

Il est permis, me semble-t-il, de supposer qu'on a, à la fin de l'épisode de Kypsélos (V 92ε2), une prophétie dont la réalisation est déjà connue du public de l'écrivain. Le réseau des associations parlantes sert à lier les deux passages de l'œuvre, afin d'obtenir une situation tragique parfaitement construite. Les deux héros, père et fils, accomplissent leur destin à cause de leurs ambitions opposées (φιλοτιμίη). Ils provoquent, inconsciemment, la chute de la dynastie, prédite par un oracle qui ne va être rapporté qu'au livre V. C'est ce qui révèle la maîtrise de l'auteur. On peut comprendre l'épisode de Périandre et Lycophron du livre III sans connaître la prophétie sur l'avenir des Bacchiades. Mais, au contraire, afin de comprendre l'épisode de Kypsélos, il faut tenir compte du récit donné précédemment, au livre III. Sinon, la première partie du discours de Soclès ne peut que paraître mal ordonnée et incohérente à tout point

⁸² Voir M. STAHL, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 209-210 et la littérature citée plus haut, p. 226 n. 60.

⁸³ Cf. la question de Périandre («Quel état politique il devait établir pour avoir le plus de sécurité et maintenir le mieux la cité sous ses lois», ὅντινα ἂν τρόπον ἀσφαλέςτατον κτλ., V 92ζ2) et le message de Trasybule (92ζ2-3).

⁸⁴ Ainsi également Christiane SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *op. cit.* (n. 54), *passim*, surtout p. 265-267 et n. 123 (p. 283).

de vue, et notamment au niveau des idées morales et religieuses de l'auteur. La suspension, ou plutôt le renversement de la succession naturelle, qui demanderait que la prédiction soit placée bien avant l'accomplissement de la catastrophe, constitue un procédé qui exige un public extrêmement attentif à des signaux de la part de l'écrivain. C'est à cause de ce procédé que dans le discours de Soclès il n'y a pas un mot au sujet de la chute de la tyrannie à Corinthe; et c'est pour la même raison que parmi les actes terribles de Périandre, Soclès ne mentionne pas le meurtre de sa femme Mélissa. On peut supposer que des signaux aussi discrets étaient pleinement suffisants pour un public qui s'attendait à un enseignement au niveau des idées religieuses. Et plus précisément, que les fils directeurs du récit étaient saisissables notamment là où ils pouvaient s'appuyer sur quelques mécanismes fondamentaux, par exemple sur la fatalité divine et sur la chaîne des rétributions, des vengeances mutuelles⁸⁵. De ce point de vue, on aurait pu dire: «il fallait que la descendance de Kypsélos pérît à cause d'une querelle familiale».

Διαπλέξαντος τὸν βίον εὔ. Est-ce qu'un tyran, un despote cruel peut être vraiment dit heureux? Et qu'est-ce qu'ὄλβιος veut dire dans ce contexte-là? On voit aisément que le mot n'a rien à voir avec le bonheur idéal d'une vie accomplie, dont parle Solon. Le renseignement sur la fin douce de Kypsélos sert, d'une part, à reprendre et expliquer l'adresse solennelle de la Pythie «Heureux cet homme [...]». Telle est sa fonction formelle. Il ne s'agit pas, pourtant, d'un ὄλβος absolu comme dans le cas de l'entretien de Solon avec Crésus. Il s'agit plutôt des ἀγαθά associés à une position élevée au sein d'une société compétitive: richesse, pouvoir, admiration, et même jalousie⁸⁶. Mais, avant tout, il est question de l'établissement de la succession dans sa propre famille. Ce qui compte c'est exactement la tension dramatique entre la vision de la fin heureuse de Kypsélos, associée à la prédiction de l'oracle, et, d'autre part, le savoir précédent du public, soigneusement rappelé par l'écrivain.

Je passe à une récapitulation rapide. A partir d'une analyse de la fonction des oracles à travers le récit de Kypsélos, j'espère avoir démontré que ce récit n'est pas incohérent, mais, au contraire, bien ordonné. Il révèle au lecteur un enseignement d'Hérodote au sujet de la condition humaine. Les oracles en sont la charpente.

⁸⁵ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 226-227 et n. 61.

⁸⁶ Cf., par exemple, C. DE HEER, *op. cit.* (n. 69), p. 8, 12-14. Cf. aussi les ouvrages déjà cités, p. 226 n. 60.

L'épisode de Kypsélos est surtout une petite pièce tragique accomplie (semblable à celle de la mort d'Atys, fils de Crésus), suivant la logique propre à l'action dramatique. L'ambiguïté du personnage du tyran et de son destin au sein de la cité, envisagé sous différents aspects, résulte de sa position tragique, en tant que modèle de la condition humaine⁸⁷.

Les reconstitutions historiques qui partent de l'idée que le récit contenu dans le discours de Soclès révèle des traditions antérieures, favorables ou défavorables au tyran, qui auraient été introduites mécaniquement par l'écrivain, sont donc insoutenables.

V

Le point culminant du récit fait par Soclès, c'est l'histoire du sauvetage de l'enfant. Elle ne peut être aucunement considérée comme étroitement liée à la démonstration du caractère pernicieux de la tyrannie — démonstration qui est le but déclaré du discours. Il faut donc réfléchir sur la fonction de cette histoire dans le contexte plus vaste du rassemblement à Sparte. Rappelons brièvement les circonstances du discours prononcé par Soclès.

Après avoir appris les intrigues des Alcéméonides et la corruption de la Pythie⁸⁸, les Lacédémoniens «tenaient pour un double malheur (συμφορῇ διπλῇ) d'avoir expulsé de leur patrie des hommes qui étaient leurs hôtes (ἄνδρας ξείνους ἐόντας)⁸⁹ sans que, en retour de cet acte, les Athéniens leur témoignassent aucune reconnaissance (χάρις)» (90,1). Les Lacédémoniens furent informés de l'existence d'oracles trouvés par le roi Cléomène dans l'acropole d'Athènes. Les prophéties, qui avaient été auparavant en la possession des Pisistratides⁹⁰, «disaient que beaucoup d'outrages (πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια) devaient leur venir des Athéniens» (90,2). Grâce aux oracles et

⁸⁷ Le changement d'un personnage en despote cruel, une fois devenu tyran, se présente dans la perspective générale de la condition humaine. La catégorie de la 'Machtpolitik' (cf. M. STAHL, *op. cit.* [n. 19], *passim*, ainsi que, plus haut, p. 211 n.19) n'est qu'un aspect de cet ensemble dramatique (songeons aux tragédies de Sophocle). La corruption morale est à associer plutôt au succès surhumain et, par conséquent, à l'ὑβρις (cf. à titre d'exemple, Cyrus et Crésus, surtout I 207.1-2) dont le tyran peut être un exemple extrême.

⁸⁸ Cf. Hdt. V 62.2—63.2.

⁸⁹ Cf. Hdt. V 63.2.

⁹⁰ Cf., peut-être, VII 6.3-5.

voyant que les Athéniens grandissaient (τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥρων αὐξομένους) et qu'ils n'étaient nullement disposés à écouter leurs ordres, les Lacédémoniens comprirent que le peuple d'Athènes, libre, deviendrait capable de contre-balancer leur propre peuple (νόῳ λαβόντες ὥς ἐλευθερον μὲν ἔδον τὸ γένος τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἰσόρροπον τῷ ἔσωτῶν ἂν γίνοιτο), tandis que, dominé par des tyrans (κατεχόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τυραννίδος), il serait sans puissance (ἀσθενές) et prêt à obéir (91.1).

Par conséquent, les Lacédémoniens prennent la décision de faire venir à Sparte Hippias, l'ancien tyran d'Athènes, ainsi que des députés de leurs alliés⁹¹.

Dans un discours devant les alliés, un représentant des Spartiates répète les arguments déjà rapportés par Hérodote, afin de persuader les députés et les inciter à ramener Hippias à Athènes. Après avoir avoué la faute des Spartiates («excité par de faux oracles, nous avons chassé de leur patrie des hommes qui nous étaient unis très étroitement par l'hospitalité et qui s'engageaient à maintenir Athènes dans notre sujétion»), il présente l'état actuel des affaires, dont il faut tenir compte:

nous avons remis la ville à un peuple ingrat (δῆμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ); quand il fut, grâce à nous, devenu libre et eut relevé la tête (δι' ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθεὶς ἀνέκυψε), il nous a chassé ignominieusement (περιυβρίσας ἐξέβαλε), nous-mêmes et notre roi⁹²; il lui est venu des idées de gloire et il grandit (δόξαν δὲ φύσας αὐξάνεται⁹³), comme l'ont appris très clairement (ὥστε ἐκμεμαθήκασιν μάλιστα) ses voisins les Béotiens et les Chalcidiens⁹⁴, et ne tarderont pas à l'apprendre d'autres aussi, qui auront fait un mauvais calcul» (τάχα δέ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἁμαρτῶν, 91.2)

— ἡμάρτομεν, «nous avons fait un mauvais calcul [nous-aussi]», avoue-t-il une fois encore pour finir et il incite à réparer cette erreur (91.3). Suit le discours déjà analysé de Soclès.

«Ainsi parla Soclès, député de Corinthe; et Hippias, invoquant les mêmes dieux qu'il avait invoqués, lui répondit que, plus que tous autres, les Corinthiens — c'était sûr — regretteraient les Pisistratides, lorsque viendraient pour eux les jours fixés par le destin où ils seraient victimes des Athéniens» (ὅταν σφι ἤκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ'

⁹¹ Cf. H.R. IMMERWAHR, *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, Cleveland 1966, p. 203.

⁹² Voir aussi V 74.1.

⁹³ Cf. A.A. HOW — J. WELLS (n. 33), *ad loc.*: «having got (or grown) a spirit». Cf. aussi H. STEIN (n. 33), *ad loc.*

⁹⁴ Cf. Hdt. V 77.

Ἀθηναίων, 93.1). «Il fit cette réponse en homme qui, de tous, avait la connaissance la plus exacte des oracles» (οἷά τε τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀτρεκέστατα ἀνδρῶν ἐξεπιστάμενος), ajoute Hérodote tout de suite (93.2)⁹⁵. Les alliés, cependant, rejettent l'avertissement d'Hippias, qui repart. Le personnage du tyran servira plus tard à ajouter deux brefs récits (94.1 et 96.1), afin d'introduire le récit de la révolte des Ioniens.

Dans un article paru en 1955, Hermann Strasburger, le premier, à ma connaissance, a aperçu quelques traits inquiétants dans l'épisode dont je m'occupe. De manière générale, il voulait démontrer que l'opinion courante, selon laquelle Hérodote aurait été un partisan d'Athènes et un admirateur de la politique de la démocratie athénienne sous la direction de Périclès, était erronée ou du moins exagérée⁹⁶. Parmi d'autres passages, il a examiné le contexte du discours de Soclès, dont l'importance avait échappé auparavant à l'attention des chercheurs⁹⁷. Strasburger remarque un parallèle frappant entre le rassemblement à Sparte chez

⁹⁵ Cf. le commentaires *ad loc.* de Legrand, Nenci, Stein, et l'appendice XVII au commentaire de W.W. HOW – J. WELLS (n. 33), p. 343-344.

⁹⁶ *Herodot und das perikleische Athen*, déjà cité (n. 53), *passim*. D'une part, il met en doute l'idée traditionnelle de l'existence d'un cercle d'intellectuels et d'artistes autour de Périclès, de l'autre, il examine certains passages d'Hérodote considérés d'ordinaire comme pro-athéniens. Il s'oppose ainsi à une image d'Hérodote bien établie dans les études classiques depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle, à partir, du moins, d'E. MEYER, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, vol. I, Halle a.S. 1892, p. 197-199; vol II, Halle 1899, p. 189, 205, 228-229. Voir, par exemple, U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLEN-DORFF, *Hellenische Geschichtsschreibung*, dans *Reden und Vorträge* II, Berlin 1926⁴, p. 218 (Hérodote comme «ein Bürger des attischen Reiches»); F. JACOBY, *Herodotos*, dans *RE Suppl.* II (1913), col. 241-242, 357-360, 478; M. POHLENZ, *Herodot. Der erste Geschichtsschreiber des Abendlandes*, Leipzig-Berlin 1937, surtout p. 168-187; J.L. MYRES, *Herodotus. The Father of History*, Oxford 1953, p. 12-14. Les idées de Strasburger ont été rejetées par la plupart des savants au cours d'une discussion animée, cf. par exemple, F.D. HARVEY, *The Political Sympathies of Herodotus*, *Historia* 15 (1966), p. 254-255; J. SCHWARTZ, *Hérodote et Périclès*, *Historia* 18 (1969), p. 367-370; J.A.S. EVANS, *Herodotus and Athens: the Evidence of the Encomium*, *AC* 48 (1979), p. 112-118; beaucoup plus modérée est l'opinion de F. ROBERT, *Sophocle, Périclès, Hérodote et la date d'Ajaj*, *RPh* 38 (1964), surtout p. 222-224 avec les notes 1/222, 1 et 4/223. Par conséquent, le point de vue traditionnel domine encore aujourd'hui (à titre d'exemple, L. CANFORA, *Storia della letteratura greca*, Roma-Bari 1989, p. 243-248). Voir, néanmoins, C.W. FORNARA, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 37-58; A.J. PODLECKI, *art. cit.* (n. 21), *passim*; W.G. FORREST, *Herodotos and Athens*, *Phoenix* 38 (1984), p. 1-11, et les trois ouvrages importants que j'ai pu consulter après avoir écrit cet article: M. OSTWALD, *Herodotus and Athens*, *ICS* 16 (1991), p. 137-148; P.A. STADTER, *Herodotus and the Athenian Arche*, *ASNSP* 22 (1992), p. 781-809; J. MOLES, *Hedodotus Warns the Athenians*, dans *Papers of the Leeds International Latin Seminar*, vol. IX, Leeds 1996, p. 259-284.

⁹⁷ *Art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 7-14, 18-22.

Hérodote et la discussion fameuse des alliés spartiates en 432 av. J.-C., à la veille de la guerre du Péloponnèse, connue grâce au récit de Thucydide (I 67-88). Les deux épisodes se correspondent, sauf que les rôles sont inverses. Car, chez Thucydide, les Corinthiens essaient d'inciter les Lacédémoniens à déclarer la guerre aux Athéniens. Chez Hérodote, au contraire, le Corinthien Soclès s'oppose aux Lacédémoniens qui veulent entraîner les alliés à intervenir à Athènes en faveur d'Hippias. Cela invite à penser qu'Hérodote a façonné l'épisode sous l'influence des événements récents. S'il en est ainsi, le pathos tragique de la scène (πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια et ὅταν σφι ἥκωσι ἡμέραι αἱ κύριαι ἀνιᾶσθαι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων) fait penser que l'historien veut présenter «eine historische Stunde von schicksalhafter Bedeutung für ganz Griechenland»⁹⁸.

La question s'impose de savoir quel est le sens du message hérodotéen. L'épisode doit, évidemment, faire penser à l'avenir d'Athènes, à son rôle futur en Grèce, en faisant allusion à la situation des premières années de la guerre du Péloponnèse et/ou de la période précédente⁹⁹. S'agit-il de défendre la démocratie athénienne, impopulaire à cause de son comportement agressif envers les Grecs¹⁰⁰? Ou plutôt de faire penser à sa politique dure, entre autres à l'égard des Corinthiens, à l'époque de l'auteur? La réponse dépend, selon Strasburger, de notre interprétation des rôles respectifs de Soclès (qui prononce un discours passionné en faveur de la liberté des Athéniens et de toutes les cités grecques) et

⁹⁸ *Art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 13-14.

⁹⁹ Cela est sûr encore aujourd'hui, malgré la discussion au sujet de la date (et la forme) de la publication de l'œuvre d'Hérodote. Cf. C.W. FÖRNER, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 75-91; *Evidence for the Date of Herodotus' Publication*, *JHS* 91 (1971), p. 25-34 et *Herodotus' Knowledge of the Archidamian War*, *Hermes* 109 (1981), p. 149-156 (Hérodote actif au moins jusqu'à 421 av. J.-C.); *contra*, par exemple, J. COBET, *Wann wurde Herodots Darstellung der Perserkriege publiziert?*, *Hermes* 105 (1977), p. 2-27. J.A.S. EVANS, *art. cit.* (n. 96), essaie, en vain me semble-t-il, de dater un passage important (VII 139.5) afin de déterminer les sentiments d'Hérodote à l'égard d'Athènes; cf. aussi *id.*, *Herodotus' Publication Date*, *Athenaeum* 57 (1979), p. 145-149.

¹⁰⁰ Sur la question de l'impopularité de l'ἀρχή athénienne voir, par exemple, la discussion: G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *The Character of the Athenian Empire*, *Historia* 3 (1954-55), p. 1-41; D.W. BRADEEN, *The Popularity of the Athenian Empire*, *Historia* 9 (1960), p. 257-269; H.W. PLEKET, *Thasos and the Popularity of the Athenian Empire*, *Historia* 12 (1963), p. 70-77; T.J. QUINN, *Thucydides and the Unpopularity of the Athenian Empire*, *Historia* 13 (1964), p. 257-266. De manière générale, W. SCHULLER, *Die Herrschaft der Athener im Ersten Attischen Seebund*, Berlin-New York 1974, *passim*. Cf. aussi Jacqueline DE ROMILLY, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien. La pensée de l'historien et la genèse de l'œuvre*, Paris 1947.

d'Hippias (l'ancien tyran qui prédit des outrages futurs en s'appuyant sur les oracles)¹⁰¹. Le tyran, un des «sages conseillers» d'Hérodote, paraît faire allusion à des événements réels, ce que font aussi les oracles mentionnés, révélés aux Spartiates et connus d'Hippias¹⁰². Il faut également tenir compte de notre connaissance des rapports tendus entre Athènes et Corinthe¹⁰³, ainsi que de la tendance, répandue à l'époque parmi les Grecs, à percevoir les rapports, si l'on peut dire, internationaux sous l'aspect de l'antithèse *καταδούλωσις* — *ἐλευθερία*¹⁰⁴. Strasburger conjecture que l'intention d'Hérodote était de donner au public une impression ambiguë¹⁰⁵. D'une part, la liberté des Athéniens assure leur puissance qui va rendre possible la victoire grecque durant les guerres médiques¹⁰⁶; de l'autre, la puissance marque également le malheur de la Grèce et le danger de la part d'Athènes, une *πόλις τύραννος*¹⁰⁷. «So sieht Herodot in dieser Szene — und, wie es scheint, in erschütterter Anteilnahme — die Geschichte Athens von ihren beiden Seiten: '... und sie riefen Beide dieselben hellenischen Götter zu Zeugen an'...»¹⁰⁸.

A partir de l'interprétation de Strasburger, on a pu aller plus loin. On a observé que l'ambiguïté de l'épisode est beaucoup plus profonde¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰¹ *Op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 12-14.

¹⁰² L'article *τούς* qui précède le mot *χρησμούς*, «les oracles» (93.2), nous invite à penser aux prophéties «auparavant en la possession des Pisistratides» (90.2). Cf. Ph.E. LEGRAND, *ad* 93.2 et H. STEIN (n. 33), *ad loc.*

¹⁰³ Thuc. I 24-66; 103.4; 105; 115; Cf. aussi, par exemple, H. STRASBURGER, *art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 18-19; G.E.M. DE STE CROIX, *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*, Oxford 1972, surtout p. 211-224; A.E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Corinth and Athens before the Peloponnesian War*, dans *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean* (n. 21), p. 266-269; F. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 96), p. 216-226.

¹⁰⁴ Thuc. I 121.5; 122.2; 124.3; II 8.4; III 63.3; cf. aussi I 98.4; II 71.

¹⁰⁵ *Art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. l'opinion personnelle d'Hérodote, VII 139, et le sentiment exprimé dans V 78.

¹⁰⁷ Voir surtout Thuc. I 124.3; 122.3; II 63.2; III 37.2; cf. VI 85.1; Aristoph., *Eq.* 1111-1114, 1329-1334; cf. aussi *Vesp.* 587 et ce que nous savons sur les *Poleis* d'Eupolis et sur les *Babyloniens* d'Aristophane. Sur les *Babyloniens*, cf. C. TUPLIN, *Imperial Tyranny: Some Reflections on a Classical Greek Political Metaphor*, dans *Crux: Essays in Greek History Presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix*, éd. P.A. Cartledge – F.D. Harvey, London 1985, p. 357 et n. 34 avec la littérature récente. De manière générale, voir également la littérature et les passages cités ci-dessous, n. 109, 112.

¹⁰⁸ *Art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 22.

¹⁰⁹ Ci-dessous, je développe quelques conclusions de K.A. RAAFLAUB: voir *Polis Tyrannos. Zur Entstehung einer politischen Metapher*, dans *Arktouros. Hellenic Studies Presented to Bernard M.W. Knox*, éd. G.W. Bowersock – W. Burkert – M.C.J. Putnam, Berlin–New York 1979, p. 237-252, surtout p. 240-241; *Herodotus, Political Thought, and the Meaning of History*, *Arethusa* 20 (1987) 1-2 [«Herodotus and the Invention of History»], p. 221-248, notamment p. 223-224.

En effet, outre la position de Corinthe qui défend Athènes pour être plus tard grièvement lésée par les Athéniens, outre les Athéniens sauvés de la tyrannie et qui deviendront le «tyran» de la Grèce après les guerres médiques, il y a aussi un autre renversement, concernant la position de Sparte et qui se révèle dès que le lecteur songe à la situation politique à la veille de la guerre du Péloponnèse. En effet, Sparte (en 432) déclare la guerre en se servant du slogan de la «libération» des Grecs et en prétendant, de surcroît, avoir toujours combattu les tyrans¹¹⁰. D'autre part, ce sont les Corinthiens, les alliés les plus fidèles, qui reprennent (en 432) les déclarations des Lacédémoniens afin de les entraîner à la guerre contre les Athéniens. Chez Hérodote, en revanche, ce sont justement les Corinthiens (en *ca.* 506) qui empêchent l'action des Lacédémoniens. Kurt Raaflaub voit ici une ironie saisissante, car la mise en garde contre la «tyrannie» future d'Athènes est due à un ancien tyran, Hippias¹¹¹.

Ces conclusions ont une importance exceptionnelle. Elles mènent à étudier les origines, le caractère et les associations pratiques de la métaphore de la «cité-tyran» dans la pensée politique grecque du Vème siècle, notamment dans les œuvres d'Hérodote, de Thucydide et des tragiques¹¹². Ces recherches s'insèrent dans une tendance aujourd'hui répandue: une grande partie des chercheurs pensent que «Many of his [Herodotus'] stories gain additional depth and meaning because certain names, words, events, situations, or thoughts mentioned in them trigger associations with problems that were familiar to all Greeks and of great

¹¹⁰ Cf. notamment Thuc. I 69.1; II 8.4. Quant à l'époque archaïque, cf., par exemple, Thuc. I 18.1; Arist., *Pol.* 1312b7.

¹¹¹ *Polis Tyrannos* (n. 109), p. 240-241; *Herodotus* (n. 109), p. 224. *Contra*, cf. M. STAHL, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 220.

¹¹² Cf., en général, K. RAAFLAUB, *Polis Tyrannos* (n. 109), *passim*; C. TUPLIN, *art. cit.* (n. 106), p. 348-375. Il y a aussi un ouvrage, malheureusement inaccessible dans des bibliothèques où j'ai pu travailler jusqu'à maintenant, à savoir W.R. CONNOR, *Tyrannis Polis*, dans *Ancient and Modern: Essays in Honor of Gerald F. Else*, éd. J. D'Arms – J.W. Eadie, Ann Arbor 1977. Voir aussi B.M.W. KNOX, *Why is Oedipus Called «Tyrannos»*, *CJ* 50 (1954), p. 97-102; Virginia HUNTER, *Athens «Tyrannis»: A New Approach to Thucydides*, *CJ* 69 (1973-74), p. 120-126; W.R. CONNOR, *Thucydides*, Princeton (NJ) 1984, p. 176-184; Th.F. SCANLON, *Thucydides and Tyranny*, *ClAnt* 6 (1987), p. 286-301; P. BARCELÒ, *Basileia, Monarchia, Tyrannis. Untersuchungen zu Entwicklung und Beurteilung von Alleinherrschaft im vorhellenistischen Griechenland*, (*Historia Einzelschriften*, 79), Stuttgart 1993, p. 196-202. A propos de la tyrannie chez Hérodote, voir, à titre d'exemple, K.H. WATERS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), surtout p. 1-42; A. FERILL, *Herodotus on Tyranny*, *Historia* 27 (1978), p. 385-398; J.N. DAVIE, *Herodotus and Aristophanes on Monarchy*, *G&R* 26 (1979), p. 160-168; M. STAHL, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 215-219. *Contra*, S. FLORY, *The Archaic Smile of Herodotus*, Detroit 1987, p. 119-149, surtout p. 128-138.

concern to his audience»¹¹³. Il s'agit notamment des événements politiques contemporains de l'historien, parmi lesquels les plus importants appartiennent au grand conflit interne grec après les guerres médiques. L'importance de l'élément politique en tant que référence constante du récit d'événements du passé, rend possible une comparaison avec la technique de la représentation dans la tragédie. Bien sûr, ces procédés n'ont de sens qu'au sein de l'ensemble de la pensée religieuse et morale d'Hérodote¹¹⁴. Cette perspective me paraît très stimulante.

Il est fort surprenant que les liens entre les circonstances «parlantes» du rassemblement à Sparte et le contenu ainsi que le message du discours de Soclès, aient échappé à l'attention des chercheurs qui ont étudié le sens de l'épisode en question. C'est l'incohérence apparente du discours qui a empêché, me semble-t-il, Strasburger et Raaflaub de s'occuper plus attentivement de cet épisode. Une fois compris que le discours est cohérent, on peut en envisager la signification du rassemblement à Sparte dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Hérodote¹¹⁵.

VI

Il me paraît utile d'introduire ici une notion indispensable pour saisir le procédé littéraire sur lequel se fonde, me semble-t-il, le message d'Hérodote destiné à son public contemporain. Il s'agit de l'*ironie* (observée dans notre épisode déjà par Raaflaub). La *transposition* ou le *renversement ironique* sert à l'écrivain pour marquer l'écart entre le sens littéral, donné directement, ou une situation particulière présentée directement par l'auteur, et un sens caché et sous-entendu. Ce qui m'intéresse au cours du présent article ce sont les différentes apparitions de l'ironie visant les héros du récit.

Les mécanismes en question sont très proches de la technique employée par les auteurs de la tragédie attique, contemporaine de notre historien. Dans les deux cas, on le verra, il s'agit, en fin de compte, de présenter et définir la condition humaine grâce à une distance créée entre le public et le héros du récit. Le savoir donné au public par l'écrivain (ou

¹¹³ K. RAAFLAUB, *Herodotus* (n. 109), p. 224.

¹¹⁴ Cf., par exemple, K. RAAFLAUB, *ibid.*, *passim*; H. STRASBURGER, *art. cit.* (n. 53), *passim*; C.W. FURNARA, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 61, 81-82.

¹¹⁵ Je devrai me borner ici à quelques idées générales qui ne sont pas encore élaborées jusqu'au bout, et que j'espère pouvoir développer ailleurs.

déjà par la convention de tel ou tel genre littéraire), savoir qui dépasse le savoir apparent du personnage dans un moment décisif de l'intrigue, rend possible l'expectative et la réalisation de la catastrophe inévitable qui est la raison d'être de l'œuvre. L'ironie n'acquiert son sens que par rapport au public. Elle est une sorte de jeu de l'auteur avec le destinataire réel — aux dépens du destinataire apparent, à savoir, du héros qui ne comprend pas. L'instrument principal de cette ironie dans la tragédie attique, ce sont les commentaires du chœur. Chez Hérodote on a notamment rêves, oracles, prodiges, mais aussi des «sages conseillers».

L'ironie se fonde sur deux renversements. J'ai déjà mentionné la transposition du contenu. Mais à celui-ci s'ajoute une autre transposition, celle du destinataire. On a affaire avec l'ironie dont il est question ici lorsqu'on trouve un message qui s'adresse apparemment au personnage du texte afin de signaler quelque chose au public. On obtient ainsi un message extra-textuel qui feint d'être destiné à quelqu'un à l'intérieur du texte¹¹⁶.

A mon avis, le réseau des parallèles entre l'épisode à Sparte chez Hérodote et le rassemblement de 432 av. J.-C. chez Thucydide est, en fait, beaucoup plus complexe que ne le pensent les chercheurs mentionnés ci-dessus. On peut découvrir d'autres sens sous-entendus qui contribuent à la situation dramatique dans le passage du livre V d'Hérodote.

R.W. Macan (*ad* 91) fait remarquer que «the Machiavellian policy and morality» des Lacédémoniens «is more in the mode of Thucydides» que dans celui d'Hérodote. Leurs déclarations cyniques pourraient être, par conséquent, le résultat de la propagande athénienne et d'une source athénienne de l'épisode et/ou de la sympathie de l'historien à l'égard d'Athènes. Enfin, le savant est étonné par le contraste entre le comportement des Spartiates chez Hérodote et leur «caractère national» tel qu'il est présenté par les Corinthiens à Sparte chez Thucydide — le τρόπος spartiate qui est commode pour les Athéniens agressifs. «Il n'y a, en effet, que vous en Grèce, Lacédémoniens, pour rester inactifs et opposer aux attaques non vos forces, mais vos intentions; il n'y a que vous pour vouloir briser le développement de vos ennemis non pas à ses débuts,

¹¹⁶ Mon approche du texte d'Hérodote doit beaucoup aux études de J.-P. VERNANT sur la tragédie grecque, notamment *Tensions et ambiguïtés dans la tragédie grecque*, dans J.-P. VERNANT – P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Mythe et tragédie* (n. 64), p. 19-40; et *Ambiguïté et renversement. Sur la structure énigmatique d'«Oedipe-Roi»*, *ibid.*, p. 99-131. Voir aussi ses remarques au sujet de la tâche de l'analyste, *ibid.*, «Préface», p. 7-10. Cf. aussi quelques pages importantes du livre d'Alexandra ZERVOU, *Ironie et parodie. Le comique chez Homère*, Athènes 1990, p. 101-104 avec la littérature citée.

mais quand il double leur puissance!» (ἡσυχάζετε γὰρ μόνοι Ἑλλήνων ... οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τινά, ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην αὔξησιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες, I 69.4)¹¹⁷. Il en résulte que la politique extérieure lacédémonienne est toujours déterminée par l'ἀμαθία πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα (I 68.1). D'autre part, dans le même discours, les Corinthiens caractérisent le τρόπος des Athéniens qui contraste tellement avec la nature des Spartiates (I 70). L'orateur commence par un mot dont l'importance dans le vocabulaire politique de l'époque n'est pas douteuse: [...] οἱ μὲν γε [sc. les Athéniens] νεωτεροποιοί (70.2)¹¹⁸.

On voit aisément que les mêmes motifs se trouvent dans l'épisode à Sparte chez Hérodote. Mais il y a un renversement surprenant. Non seulement ceux qui en 432 av. J.-C. pousseront les Lacédémoniens à la guerre, leur font des reproches afin d'empêcher la guerre, mais, en plus, les reproches s'appuient sur les thèmes de la propagande spartiate de la veille de la guerre du Péloponnèse. Ce qui est encore plus intéressant, c'est que les Corinthiens «adjurent, au nom des dieux des Grecs, de ne pas établir de tyrans dans les villes» (ἐπιμαρτυρόμεθά τε ἐπικαλεόμενοι ὑμῖν θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνίους μὴ κατιστάναι τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις, 92η4). La perspective panhellénique doit attirer notre attention. Cette déclaration a été préparée par la figure étudiée ci-dessus de l'*adynaton*, avec une opposition nette entre ἰσοκρατίη et τυραννίς (92α1). Le reste des alliés «conjurèrent les Lacédémoniens de ne rien faire qui

¹¹⁷ Cf. J. CLASSEN – J. STEUP, *Thukydides erklärt*, vol. I, Berlin 1919⁵, *ad loc.* Voir aussi Thuc. I 69.2; 70.1-9; 71.3-4. Sur les mots qui caractérisent le τρόπος spartiate, cf. S. HORNBLOWER, *A Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. I, Oxford 1992, *ad* 69.2 & 4; 32.2; Cf. également μέλλησις, μέλλω: Thuc. I 69.4; 70.4; 84.1; 86.2. Voir A.W. GOMME, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. I, *ad* 68.1; 71.1; 71.2-3 et E.F. POPPO, *Thucydides libri octo*, vol. I 1, Lipsiae 1866², *ad* 69.4. Cf. la défense du τρόπος spartiate par Archidamos: I 84.1 *passim*; 85.1 (cf. Classen-Steup, Gomme, Hornblower, *comm. ad locc.*). Les Athéniens font allusion au τρόπος des Lacédémoniens en 78.1; cf. A.W. GOMME, vol. I, *ad loc.* Enfin, Sthénélaïdas, un des éphores, rejette l'argumentation 'pacifiste': 86.2 (cf. S. HORNBLOWER, vol. I, *ad loc.*). Sur le contraste des τρόποι chez Thucydide voir surtout R.W. CONNOR, *Thucydides* (n. 112), p. 36-48 et 236-242.

¹¹⁸ A.W. GOMME (*ad loc.*, au sujet de l'expression νεωτεροποιοί): «here of course means 'ready to upset existing conditions in other states' and so 'aggressive'». Ce mot apparaît aussi, en tant que terme technique, mais toujours pour désigner l'opposé du 'caractère' spartiate, en I 102.3. Cf. Thuc. VI 18.6-7; 87.3. De manière générale, voir V. EHRENBURG, *Polypragmosyne: a Study in Greek Politics*, dans *Polis und Imperium: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, éd. K.F. Ströheker – A.J. Graham, Zürich 1965, p. 466-501 (= *JHS* 67, 1947, p. 46-67). Pour une vue hostile de la politique athénienne, voir I 69.3 («Nous le connaissons, le procédé des Athéniens, et leur façon d'atteindre leurs voisins de proche en proche» — κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσι ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας).

pût porter le trouble dans une cité hellénique» (μὴ ποιέειν μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα, 93.2)¹¹⁹. Cela fait pendant à l'appel aux Spartiates pour qu'ils résistent à la πολυπραγμοσύνη des νεωτεροποιοί, chez Thucydide (70.2). Par conséquent, le discours de Soclès, ainsi que la réaction immédiate des autres, offre une image des Lacédémoniens qui les présente comme les νεωτεροποιοί d'autrefois, πολυπράγμονες en dépit de leur ἡσυχία traditionnelle. Hérodote renverse ainsi le τρόπος spartiate, ce qui marque une ironie qui vise un des thèmes fondamentaux de la propagande des deux parties du conflit contemporain de l'écrivain, le contraste des «caractères nationaux».

L'ironie d'Hérodote va même un peu plus loin; il fait dire à Soclès: «Nous autres Corinthiens, nous avons été fort étonnés dès le premier moment quand nous vous avons vu faire venir Hippias; aujourd'hui, nous le sommes encore plus par le langage que vous tenez» (92η5). L'orateur est étonné exactement de voir le changement inattendu et surprenant du comportement naturel des Spartiates¹²⁰.

Il reste à s'interroger sur les raisons de cette transformation. D'autant plus que ce n'est pas la première fois qu'il faut être surpris d'une action stupéfiante des Lacédémoniens. Ceux-ci, en effet, «tenaient pour un double malheur d'avoir expulsé de leur patrie des hommes qui étaient leurs hôtes sans que, en retour de cet acte, les Athéniens leur témoignassent aucune reconnaissance» (90.1). Ils l'avaient fait, à leur propre détriment, «excités par de faux oracles». Ils sont donc coupables, car ils ont violés les liens de ξενίη. Une fois encore: pourquoi?

Il n'est pas douteux que les Corinthiens sont également visés par l'ironie d'Hérodote. Ce procédé s'appuie encore une fois sur des allusions à la situation contemporaine. L'avertissement d'Hippias prédit aux Corinthiens «les jours fixés par le destin où ils seraient victimes des Athéniens» (93.1), ainsi que les oracles des Pisistratides le font aux Lacédémoniens (πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια¹²¹, 90.2). D'ailleurs, selon les Lacédémoniens, l'observation des événements politiques montre le danger de la part d'Athènes («comme l'ont appris très clairement ses voisins les Béotiens et les Chalcidiens¹²², et ne tarderont

¹¹⁹ Cependant, l'expression ποιέειν τι / μηδὲν νεώτερον, chez Hérodote, peut avoir également un sens moins spécifique, cf. V 19.2.

¹²⁰ L'effet est d'autant plus puissant que, comme j'espère l'avoir démontré, la phrase est annoncée déjà par l'*adynaton* au début du discours.

¹²¹ Cf. aussi V 89.3.

¹²² Cf. Hdt. V 77.

pas à l'apprendre d'autres aussi, qui auront fait un mauvais calcul», 91.2).

Il y a encore une autre allusion à un motif de la discussion politique du V^{ème} siècle. Les Athéniens ne témoignent aucune reconnaissance (χάρις οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο πρὸς Ἀθηναίων, 90.1). Les Lacédémoniens disent: «nous avons remis la ville à un peuple ingrat (δῆμῳ ἀχαρίστῳ); quand il fut, grâce à nous, devenu libre et eut relevé la tête (ἀνέκυψε), il nous a chassé ignominieusement (περιυβρίσας ἐξέβαλε), nous-mêmes et notre roi» (91.2). On trouve là le thème du δῆμος ἀχαρίστος et de la ὕβρις τοῦ δήμου, qui produit un autre renversement ironique¹²³. Le raisonnement du discours des Spartiates, prononcé avant l'intervention de Soclès de Corinthe, sert à établir que toutes les actions en faveur du peuple athénien sont condamnées à l'ingratitude. Ce message s'adresse aux Corinthiens, qui ne sont pas en mesure de le comprendre. Ils négligent tous les avertissements possibles: celui du sens commun mais aussi, ce qui est le plus important, celui de la voix divine (les oracles et le «sage conseiller», Hippias). On peut se demander pourquoi ils sont aveugles. Ou bien, quelle est la fonction de leur comportement dans le récit.

L'ironie à l'égard des Athéniens est évidente. Le motif de l'ὕβρις τοῦ δήμου et celui de son ingratitude produisent une image noire de la démocratie athénienne. La métaphore de la «cité-tyran», qui fait l'objet de recherches depuis quelques dizaines d'années¹²⁴, domine toute l'affaire. Il n'est pas permis de soupçonner qu'il s'agit d'accusations injustes d'une propagande ennemie. Car les oracles, ainsi que le personnage du «sage conseiller», ont une portée décisive. Les Athéniens ne sont pas présents à Sparte, mais l'auteur ne permet pas de les oublier. Ce sont eux qui font agir les autres. La décision des Lacédémoniens n'est qu'une réaction à un danger de la part d'Athènes. Quelle est la nature de

¹²³ Cf., à titre d'exemple, un passage du discours des Corinthiens à Athènes dans l'affaire de Corcyre chez Thucydide. Ils demandent, en vain, la reconnaissance (χάρις) en retour de deux services rendus aux Athéniens (I 40.5-6; 41.1-2; 42.3). Au sujet de l'ὕβρις des Athéniens, cf. le discours déjà cité, prononcé à Sparte (Thuc. I 68.2 *ad fin.*). Pour ὕβρις τοῦ δήμου, voir un endroit du débat fameux des Perses, Hdt. III 81.1-2 (δμίλου οὐδὲν ὕβριστότερον — les mots de Mégabyxos) avec le commentaire *ad loc.* de D. ASHERI, *Erodoto. Le Storie*, vol. III: *La Persia*, Milano 1990. Pour le motif de la χάρις dans la propagande athénienne, cf. l'«Épithaphe» de Périclès (II 40.4). A propos de ce passage, J.T. HOOKER, *Χάρις and ἀρετή in Thucydides*, *Hermes* 102 (1974), p. 164-169. Cf. également F. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 96), p. 216-226. De manière générale, voir le pamphlet du Pseudo-Xénophon, *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, notamment 2.17, aussi 1.7-8.

¹²⁴ Cf. plus haut, p. 238-240 et n. 107, 109, 112.

ce danger? L'ingratitude et l'orgueil ne sont que des apparences. Afin de caractériser l'essentiel, on utilise une autre expression lourde de sens.

[...] «Voyant que les Athéniens grandissaient (τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥρων ἀξιομένους) et qu'ils n'étaient nullement disposés à écouter leurs ordres, les Lacédémoniens comprirent que le peuple d'Athènes, libre, deviendrait capable de contrebalancer leur propre peuple, tandis que, dominé par des tyrans, il serait sans puissance et prêt à obéir» (91.1). Encore: «il lui est venu des idées de gloire et il grandit» (δόξαν δὲ φύσας ἀξάνεται, 91.2).

Ce n'est pas par hasard que le verbe ἀξάνομαι se réfère ici aux débuts de la puissance athénienne qui va menacer les protagonistes du rassemblement à Sparte. On est étonné de trouver la même expression chez Thucydide, dans le débat qui précède la guerre du Péloponnèse. J'ai déjà cité l'appel des Corinthiens aux Spartiates (μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην αὔξουσιν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες, I 69.4). L'αὔξισις d'Athènes apparaît aussi dans l'exhortation finale à faire la guerre à l'ennemi athénien. L'éphore lacédémonien Sthénélaïdas prend la parole le dernier et finit ainsi en répondant à l'appel des Corinthiens: «Votez donc, Lacédémoniens, d'une façon digne de Sparte: votez la guerre; ne laissez pas les Athéniens s'agrandir (μήτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔατε μείζους γίγνεσθαι) et ne trahissons pas nos alliés; au contraire, avec l'aide des Dieux, marchons contre les coupables» (86.4)¹²⁵.

Je pense que la notion de l'αὔξισις athénienne jouait un rôle important dans les discussions politiques de la période qui précéda la guerre du Péloponnèse. C'était, selon toute vraisemblance, le thème central de

¹²⁵ Thucydide lui-même introduit et clôt la digression dite *Pentekontaetia* par la même idée: «Voici, en effet, comment les Athéniens étaient arrivés à la situation qui fit leur grandeur» (οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ἡδύκησαν, I 89.1, et A.W. GOMME [n. 117], *ad loc.*; cf. I 97.2 *ad fin.*); «Au cours de cette période [la période de cinquante ans qui va de la retraite de Xerxès au début de la guerre du Péloponnèse], les Athéniens renforcèrent leur empire (ἀρχή) et parvinrent eux-mêmes à un haut degré de puissance» (αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμει, I 118.2). Cette idée est assurément à lier avec le problème de l'opposition des *tropoi* nationaux, car, au même endroit, Thucydide remarque que les Lacédémoniens demeurèrent dans l'inaction (ἡσύχαζον): «cela dura jusqu'à ce que la puissance (δύναμις) athénienne prît un essor manifeste et qu'Athènes touchât à leurs alliés etc.» (118.2). Ce qui doit attirer notre attention c'est le fait que Thucydide présente «la cause véritable» de la guerre (ἡ ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις) dans les mêmes termes. On lit en effet: «c'est à mon sens que les Athéniens, en s'accroissant, donnèrent de l'appréhension aux Lacédémoniens, les contraignant ainsi à la guerre (τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μεγάλους γιγνομένους etc.)» (I 23.6). — C'est un point essentiel sur lequel je reviendrai ailleurs.

la réflexion sur les raisons et la nature inévitable du conflit fratricide¹²⁶. Le mot, assurément pourvu d'un sens politique¹²⁷, est donc utilisé par Hérodote, comme on le verra plus clairement encore, afin de souligner l'importance de ce qu'on dit. Solidaire des autres motifs empruntés au vocabulaire politique contemporain (δῆμος ἀχάριστος, ὕβρις τοῦ δήμου, πόλις τύραννος, πολυπραγμοσύνη), l'expression témoigne de la tendance ironique à s'adresser au public avec un message qui prend sa force des affaires contemporaines.

Certes, le rôle des oracles dans l'épisode à Sparte chez Hérodote est considérable. Les oracles trouvés par Cléomène (90.2), ainsi que l'avertissement d'Hippias (fondé entre autre sur la connaissance des oracles, 93.1), ont une fonction narrative. Ils prédisent des événements dont il faut tenir compte. Ce sont eux qui mettent l'action en mouvement. Ils sont un élément essentiel de la situation dramatique, que l'écrivain façonne au moyen d'un réseau de renversements ironiques. Tous les protagonistes ont tous les signaux possibles pour qu'ils puissent prendre une décision juste. Malheureusement, ils échouent tous. On a l'impression d'une certaine fatalité¹²⁸.

Cependant, en fin de compte, les oracles ne sont pas accomplis dans l'œuvre d'Hérodote; ils dépassent ainsi le cadre du récit — cas assez curieux, parce que ce qui donne le sens à des prophéties c'est exactement la perspective *ex eventu*¹²⁹. On a ici un bon exemple d'une transposition ironique extrême. Car les personnages du récit, les destinataires apparents du message ne verront pas son accomplissement. De ce point de vue, ils ne peuvent être des héros tragiques, car la péripétie n'aura pas lieu à l'intérieur de l'ouvrage. Certes, les Lacédémoniens agissent sous

¹²⁶ Cf. les passages cités dans la note précédente.

¹²⁷ La «politische Prägnanz» de l'expression a été bien vue par H. STRASBURGER, *art. cit.* (n. 53), p. 10 n. 1, à propos du passage V 78; cf. aussi M. POHLENZ, *op. cit.* (n. 96), p. 202 n. 1, et H.R. IMMERWAHR, *op. cit.* (n. 91), p. 203 n. 37, p. 208 n. 47. Voir, de manière générale, Thuc. I 2.6; I 16 (cf. aussi I 2.4; 13.1; 15.1; 23.6; 97.2 *ad fin.*); Sophocle, *Antigone* 191; Euripide, *Héraclès* 793; *Iph. Aul.* 967; *Suppl.* 507; fr. 362.28; fr. 420; Xénophon, *Mem.* III 7.2. Pour la notion d'αὔξησις cf. aussi, de manière générale, Ch. MEIER, *Die Entstehung des Politischen bei den Griechen* (trad. française: *La naissance du politique*, Paris 1995, p. 309-351).

¹²⁸ Cf., pour le moment, les oracles et le personnage du 'sage' Hippias, et le mauvais calcul prédit par les Lacédémoniens: τάχα δὲ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκμαθήσεται ἁμαρτῶν, 91.2.

¹²⁹ Voir, cependant, une idée étrange de F.D. HARVEY, *art. cit.* (n. 96), p. 255: étant donné qu'Hippias fait appel «to Corinthian self-interest by painting a black picture of what will happen if they fail to restore him», il n'importerait pas de savoir si sa prédiction va être réalisée.

l'influence des oracles, mais ceux-ci s'adressent en réalité au public contemporain de l'auteur¹³⁰.

L'ensemble des allusions et des associations établies ci-dessus est destiné à faire réfléchir le public. Toutefois, il ne s'agit évidemment pas de le faire penser simplement à la guerre du Péloponnèse. Il faut bien supposer qu'il y a là aussi un message d'une portée plus vaste.

VII

Il faut d'abord rappeler l'action de notre épisode: Trompés par de faux oracles, les Lacédémoniens chassent les Pisistratides d'Athènes. Après avoir reçu des prophéties auparavant inconnues (trouvées à l'acropole d'Athènes) et voyant l'agrandissement de la puissance des Athéniens, ils décident de ramener Hippias à Athènes, en vue de faire périr la jeune démocratie agressive. Cela se révèle impossible à cause des Corinthiens, dont l'opposition est d'autant plus étonnante qu'ils sont avertis par plusieurs signes complémentaires du danger de la part des Athéniens. Par conséquent, tous les protagonistes du débat à Sparte, ainsi que tous les voisins d'Athènes, sont menacés par «les jours fixés par le destin où ils seront victimes des Athéniens».

Rappelons maintenant à grands traits l'histoire de Kypsélos: Aux Bacchiades, qui sont déjà en possession d'un oracle incompréhensible, est rapporté un autre oracle rendu à Éétion. Ils comprennent aussitôt tous les deux oracles et prennent la décision de tuer l'enfant nouveau-né, afin d'échapper au péril. Deux tentatives successives des gens envoyés à cet effet échouent. Sauvé ainsi, Kypsélos grandit et, encouragé par une prophétie favorable, réussit à s'emparer du pouvoir. Une fois devenu tyran, il «bannit beaucoup de Corinthiens, en priva beaucoup de leurs biens, et bien davantage de la vie».

On voit facilement, me semble-t-il, l'analogie structurale exacte entre les deux récits. Observons la suite des éléments des deux ensembles. D'abord, la manière dont se noue l'intrigue est la même. Il s'agit, dans les deux cas, de l'impulsion donnée aux affaires par des oracles qui mettent les protagonistes au courant du danger. Ensuite, les prophéties servent à tirer les intéressés soit de l'erreur (les Lacédémoniens), soit de

¹³⁰ On peut associer ces oracles à d'autres, rapportés par Thucydide, et qui circulaient dans le monde grec vers le début de la guerre du Péloponnèse (II 8.2 et II 54.2-4). Cf. H. STEIN (n. 33), *ad* 90.2.

l'inconscience précédente (les Bacchiades). Dans les deux cas, il y a deux oracles: le premier est faux ou obscur et compris de manière fausse (κίβδηλον, ἄσημον, ἀτέκμαρτον)¹³¹; le deuxième éclaircit la situation. Un autre parallèle curieux: les prophéties qui rendent la compréhension possible sont données à d'autres (les Pisistratides — Éétion) et rapportées aux intéressés (les Lacédémoniens — les Bacchiades) plus ou moins par hasard (90.2–92β3). Dans les deux cas l'accent est mis sur le caractère soudain de la reconnaissance finale. Les protagonistes décident tout de suite ce qu'il faut faire et se mettent à l'action le plus vite possible¹³².

La deuxième étape des deux récits est une action préventive ratée. Séduits par un sourire de l'enfant et dupés par la mère courageuse, les envoyés des Bacchiades ne réussissent pas à tuer le nouveau-né (92γ2). C'est étonnant, car la mort de Kypsélos semblait sûre. Pourtant, «il fallait que la descendance d'Éétion fût pour Corinthe le germe d'infortunes» (92δ1). De même à Sparte, d'une façon étonnante, les Corinthiens empêchent l'intervention contre Athènes. Par conséquent, les Lacédémoniens et leurs alliés n'arrivent pas à mettre fin à la démocratie dangereuse établie récemment. Après avoir compris le caractère irréversible de la décision erronée des alliés, Hippias, qui avait la connaissance la plus exacte des oracles, prédit en partant «les jours fixés par le destin où ils seraient victimes des Athéniens» (93.1)¹³³.

L'échec des envoyés des Bacchiades entraîne de graves conséquences. Une catastrophe menace la cité, qui est condamnée à des persécutions de la part du tyran (92ε1). Après le récit sur le sauvetage de l'enfant, Hérodote raconte, avec une brièveté extrême, comment Kypsélos devint le maître de Corinthe. On peut observer ici une ligne ascendante: «Par la

¹³¹ Les Spartiates sont à la fois «excités par de faux oracles» (κίβδηλοῖσι μαντηίοισι, 91.2) et ignorants des oracles véridiques (τῶν πρότερον ἦσαν ἀδαεές, 90.2). Au sujet des oracles obscurs ou faux, cf. le chapitre intitulé «Griechische Haltung gegenüber dunklen und falschen Orakel- und Sehersprüchen» dans le livre de H. KLEES, *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher. Ein Vergleich zwischen griechischer und nichtgriechischer Mantik bei Herodot* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 43), Stuttgart 1965(?), p. 68-91, surtout p. 83-84.

¹³² Les Lacédémoniens (90.2–91.1): ἐνῆγόν σφεας οἱ χρησμοί ... τῶν πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν ἀδαεές, τότε δέ ... ἐξέμαθον. [...] μαθόντες τούτων ἕκαστα κτλ.; les Bacchiades (92β3–γ1): ταῦτα χρησθέντα τῷ Ἡετίωνι ἐξαγγέλλεται κως τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι, τοῖσι τὸ μὲν πρότερον γενόμενον χρηστήριον... ἦν ἄσημον [...] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βακχιάδῃσι πρότερον γενόμενον ἦν ἀτέκμαρτον, τότε δὲ τῷ Ἡετίωνι γενόμενον ὥς ἐπύθοντο αὐτίκα καὶ τὸ πρότερον συνήκαν... συνέντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ..., ἐθελόντες... διαφθεῖραι. ὥς δ' ἔτεκε ἡ γυνὴ τάχιστα κτλ.

¹³³ Cf. d'autres prophéties faites 'en partant': celle de Démarate, chez Hérodote (VI 67.3); et d'un autre Spartiate, Méléssippos, chez Thucydide (II 12.3).

suite [*c'est-à-dire*, «après avoir échappé au péril»], le fils d'Éétion grandit»; parvenu à l'âge d'homme (ἀνδρωθέντι), il reçut un oracle; «confiant dans cet oracle, il attaqua Corinthe et s'en empara» (92ε1).

Il faut attacher beaucoup d'importance à la première phrase qui suit le récit du sauvetage (Ἡετίωνι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παῖς ἠϋζάνετο, 92ε1). Elle reprend la remarque fondamentale d'Hérodote sur le destin de Corinthe (ἔδει δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἡετίωνος γόνου Κορίνθω κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν, 92δ1), anticipée, à son tour, par les annonces des actions futures du fils d'Éétion dans les oracles précédents (ἐμπεσεῖται, λύσει, δικαιώσει). Il y a d'autres liens étroits entre les prophéties et le passage en question. Surtout l'image de la grossesse (κύει) et de l'accouchement (τέξει) qui produira un lion ou une pierre roulante — image qui marque le caractère inévitable de l'ascension du fils au pouvoir. On trouve une métaphore analogue dans un passage célèbre de Théognis: Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἥδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα εὐθυνητήρα κακῆς ὕβριος ἡμετέρης (v. 39-40), où εὐθυνητήρ désigne un tyran¹³⁴. Hérodote y ajoute, me semble-t-il, une autre image, à savoir une métaphore biologique — ἀναβλαστεῖν: «pousser», «bourgeonner» (dit des plantes). Le verbe, appliqué métaphoriquement à des enfants dans la poésie grecque¹³⁵, apparaît trois fois chez Hérodote. Dans deux cas, il s'agit d'une situation dangereuse pour quelqu'un¹³⁶. Cette métaphore s'associe, dans notre passage, à un verbe qui n'est pas indifférent: ἠϋζάνετο¹³⁷. Dans le contexte, ce verbe, avec les autres éléments déjà mentionnés, me paraît évoquer l'idée de la force irrésistible, tout comme l'image oraculaire de l'ὀλοοίτροχος¹³⁸. On obtient ainsi toute une série

¹³⁴ Tout comme dans le cas de Kypsélos, les μούναρχοι chez Théognis sont associés aux ἔμφυλοι φόνοι ἀνδρῶν (v. 50-51).

¹³⁵ P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s.v. βλαστάνω. Le verbe apparaît chez Pindare, mais non chez Eschyle, ni chez Sophocle.

¹³⁶ Notre passage V 92δ1 (κακὰ ἀναβλαστεῖν); et III 62.4 (οὐ μὴ τί τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστη), où il est question d'une crainte vaine de Cambysès. Outre le mot fatidique (ἔδει), il faut observer le caractère solennel de la métaphore qui n'apparaît que dans des discours (Soclès, Préxaspès).

¹³⁷ Les deux catégories que Powell distingue (s.v. αὐζάνω, Pass.: 1. [«'grow' in power, of a nation: I 46.1 bis; I 58; V 77.4; 91.2; ἐς πλῆθος I 58»] et 2. [«of animals and men, 'grow up': II 68.2; III 108.4; 134.3; IV 147.3; V 92e1»]) sont, en fait, très proches. Cf. É. BENVENISTE, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* II, Paris 1969, p. 148-151; aussi P. CHANTRAINE, s.v. αὔξω. Voir également J.E. POWELL, s.v. αὔξω (Pass. 1., 2.). Cf. plus haut, p. 246-247 et n. 125, 127.

¹³⁸ D'autant plus que, dans le monde animal, le verbe ne s'applique chez Hérodote qu'aux grandes bêtes sauvages et féroces: II 68.2 (crocodile); III 108.4 (lion). Dans ces cas, Hérodote lui-même souligne la grandeur et/ou la force des animaux. Je dois cette

de mots désignant, avec une connotation fatale, la croissance de l'enfant vers le pouvoir¹³⁹.

Quant au rassemblement à Sparte, il n'y a pas de renseignements sur l'avenir, c'est-à-dire sur le moment où les avertissements d'Hippias et les oracles se réaliseront. Mais on peut conjecturer le comportement futur des Athéniens à l'égard des protagonistes du débat à partir du raisonnement et des déclarations des Spartiates (90.1-91.3). En plus, «les jours fixés par le destin où ils seraient victimes des Athéniens» (93.1), ainsi que les oracles donnés aux Lacédémoniens (πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια, 90.2), correspondent exactement aux prophéties prédisant les κακά qui menacent Corinthe. L'αὔξησις du jeune Kypsélos correspond ainsi à l'agrandissement des Athéniens, qui provoque le rassemblement à Sparte.

Il est évident que l'histoire de Kypsélos racontée par Soclès sert à élucider le sens et compléter le message du débat à Sparte. La métaphore πόλις τύραννος, découverte chez Hérodote par Raaflaub, acquiert ainsi une signification plus profonde. D'un point de vue général, on trouve dans notre passage un exemple instructif de la technique narrative très fine de l'écrivain, technique qui véhicule ses pensées les plus importantes^{139a}.

VIII

La raison d'être du message du débat à Sparte, c'est une image du pouvoir tyrannique qui appartient à un ensemble d'idées, fonctionnant comme des lieux communs rhétoriques et des outils de la polémique dans les

remarque à M. David Daix, que je remercie vivement. Quant aux hommes, trois occurrences du verbe se trouvent dans des contextes importants. Il s'agit toujours d'enfants éminents: VI 63.2 (Démarate, fils d'Ariston roi de Sparte, grandit vers le pouvoir royal, βασιλῆϊ); IV 147.3 (encore à Sparte, Eurysthénès et Proclès grandissent vers l'ἀρχή). Le troisième passage (III 134): Atossa incite Darius à attaquer la Grèce.

¹³⁹ Un parallèle s'impose. Comme l'a démontré H.C. AVERY, *A Poetic Word in Herodotus*, *Hermes* 107 (1978), p. 1-9, le verbe ἐπαίρω suggère une incitation fatale à des actions excessives, qui va ensemble avec des signes d'ὄβρις: «Herodotus sought by using ἐπαίρω in its pregnant sense to add a poetic and universalizing dimension to his narrative, to foreshadow the future, to charm and instruct his audience, and finally — most importantly — to aid him in his effort to express large truths about man, his place in the world, and his relationship to powerful forces around him» (p. 8).

^{139a} Ainsi, les procédés littéraires employés par Hérodote témoignent de la sensibilité surprenante du public, qui était capable de saisir un des traits distinctifs du discours hérodotéen. L'ironie de l'écrivain qui consiste, en l'occurrence, dans la substitution d'Athènes au personnage du tyran corinthien, s'adresse à un auditoire qui raisonne, avec l'auteur, selon les catégories de la polarité, de l'analogie, et de la symétrie.

luttres politiques de la deuxième moitié du Vème siècle. L'histoire de Kyp-sélos sert à éclaircir le sens du rassemblement des alliés spartiates. Puisqu'il s'agit d'un épisode du passé lointain, le dénouement de l'action, c'est-à-dire l'accomplissement des prophéties à propos des relations futures entre les protagonistes du débat, ne peut qu'être suspendu. Ce sont les avertissements d'Hippias qui terminent la scène. Cependant, la suite des événements n'est pas obscure, car le renseignement sur la croissance de Kypsélos vers le pouvoir tyrannique, suivi de la brève remarque sur ses actions violentes prolongées par son fils-successeur Périandre, est solidaire du thème, présent aussi chez Thucydide, de l'αὔξησις des Athéniens qui se réalise aux dépens des autres cités grecques. L'ironie consiste à substituer l'Athènes contemporaine de l'auteur au personnage du tyran.

L'ironie vise également les Lacédémoniens. Il s'agit d'abord de leur sottise, car ils ont expulsé, à leur propre détriment, ceux qui étaient leurs alliés naturels à Athènes. Après avoir compris l'erreur, les Spartiates essaient d'intervenir, afin de restituer le pouvoir du tyran. Cette politique agressive contraste d'une façon frappante avec la propagande des années précédant la guerre du Péloponnèse, avec le motif de la «libération des Grecs», renforcé par des déclarations de haine perpétuelle contre la tyrannie. On peut même présenter le comportement des Spartiates en termes d'ὄβρις, à cause de leur politique inconstante et égoïste. L'ironie d'Hérodote va plus loin, jusqu'au renversement du thème des «caractères nationaux» opposés des Lacédémoniens et des Athéniens.

Cependant, le cas des Corinthiens est le plus instructif. D'une part, Hérodote renverse le parti pris de Corinthe à la veille de la guerre du Péloponnèse. Tandis que en 432 ses compatriotes essayeront d'inciter les Lacédémoniens à déclarer la guerre contre les Athéniens, dans le rassemblement à Sparte (vers 506?) Soclès contribue au salut du futur ennemi des Corinthiens, ce qui est une idée paradoxale pour le public contemporain de l'historien. En outre, le député de Corinthe ne tient aucun compte des avertissements des oracles, ni du danger réel, dont les voisins d'Athènes ont déjà fait l'expérience. Il rejette également les mots d'un «sage conseiller», ce qui, compte tenu de plusieurs exemples dans l'œuvre d'Hérodote, n'est pas indifférent. Ainsi, Soclès devient un personnage tragique qui va en avant malgré tous les signes reçus. En plus, le comportement du Corinthien est d'autant plus tragique qu'il oppose aux signaux prédisant l'avenir, son propre calcul humain qui est, bien entendu, restreint. Le sentiment anti-tyrannique, qui, en lui-même, n'est pas une chose mauvaise, rend Soclès évidemment aveugle aux faits. Les

Lacédémoniens, grâce aux oracles trouvés à l'acropole d'Athènes, voient cela clairement (91.2). Soclès n'hésite pas et est coupable justement par sa détermination. C'est ce qui invite à penser que son rôle tragique peut être associé à l'ὕβρις de l'homme qui «sait» malgré tout¹⁴⁰.

La finesse d'Hérodote se manifeste parfaitement dans l'ironie qui vise Soclès. On la voit quand Hippias, «qui avait la connaissance la plus exacte des oracles», invoque les mêmes dieux qu'avait invoqués le Corinthien (93.1). Il en est de même pour le θῶμα, l'étonnement que Soclès déclare éprouver à l'égard du comportement des Lacédémoniens (92η5). C'est exactement ce sentiment que les mots de Soclès doivent susciter chez le public d'Hérodote, public qui est conscient de l'absurdité de la position des Corinthiens à Sparte.

Le sommet de l'ironie c'est le fait que Soclès nous raconte lui-même l'histoire de Kypsélos. La croissance de l'enfant, suivie par les actes injustes qui préfigurent les outrages à venir de la part des Athéniens, sont, en fait, un autre avertissement donné à Soclès, outre les mots d'Hippias et des Lacédémoniens. Au moment crucial du drame les mots de Soclès ont, sans qu'il le sache, une valeur oraculaire. Il est «pris au mot»: il suscite, dans le public d'Hérodote, une association funeste entre le tyran réel du passé, qui devrait servir de leçon aux Spartiates, et la métaphore de la «cité-tyran» du présent, métaphore qui devrait servir de leçon à lui-même¹⁴¹.

¹⁴⁰ Cependant, K.H. WATERS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 8, écrit: «[...] it will hardly be argued that Herodotus thought Corinthians were committing Hybris by objecting to the restoration of tyranny at Athens». Le cas de Soclès est pour lui un bon exemple qui montre qu'il faut limiter l'importance des «sages conseillers» chez Hérodote, puisque les avertissements d'Hippias «do not involve a Nemesis» (*ibid.*).

¹⁴¹ On ne peut que reprendre ici les mots de J.-P. VERNANT, *Ambiguïté et renversement* (n. 64), p. 102-103: «L'ironie tragique pourra consister à montrer comment, au cours de l'action, le héros se trouve littéralement «pris au mot», un mot qui se retourne contre lui en lui apportant l'amère expérience du sens qu'il s'obstinait à ne pas reconnaître. C'est seulement, par-dessus la tête des personnages, entre l'auteur et le spectateur qu'un autre dialogue se noue où la langue récupère sa vertu de communication et comme sa transparence. Mais ce que transmet le message tragique, quand il est compris, c'est précisément qu'il existe dans les paroles échangées entre les hommes des zones d'opacité et d'incommunicabilité. Dans le moment où il voit sur la scène les protagonistes adhérer exclusivement à un sens et, ainsi aveuglés, se perdre eux-mêmes ou se déchirer les uns les autres, le spectateur est conduit à comprendre qu'il y a en réalité deux sens possibles, ou davantage. Le message tragique lui devient intelligible dans la mesure où, arraché à ses certitudes et à ses limitations anciennes, il réalise l'ambiguïté des mots, des valeurs, de la condition humaine. Reconnaissant l'univers comme conflictuel, s'ouvrant à une vision problématique du monde, il se fait lui-même, à travers le spectacle, conscience tragique». Cf. aussi C.B.R. PELLING, *art. cit.* (n. 7), *passim*. — Dans notre cas, je le répète, la maîtrise de l'écrivain est d'autant plus remarquable qu'il se sert des procédés tragiques, sans

Il reste à savoir pourquoi, selon Hérodote, les Athéniens furent sauvés, pourquoi ils échappèrent au péril de l'invasion. Il faut se demander aussi pourquoi tous les personnages du récit sont coupables d'aveuglement et d'ὑβρις, autrement dit, pourquoi ils sont visés par l'ironie de l'écrivain. Si l'on n'accepte pas l'idée de Plutarque de la malignité d'Hérodote, il faut chercher un enseignement destiné spécialement aux contemporains de l'historien.

Si l'analogie, esquissée ci-dessus, entre l'histoire de Kypsélos et la situation dramatique qui se déroule à Sparte est juste, on peut aborder ces questions d'un coup. Il suffit de réfléchir sur les raisons pour lesquelles Kypsélos a échappé à la mort. L'orateur souligne le caractère inattendu et merveilleux du sauvetage de l'enfant. D'une part, l'action de la mère qui a caché le nouveau-né — geste tellement prodigieux que le fils d'Éétion reçoit, selon Hérodote, un nom tiré du nom du coffre. Labda a entendu, heureusement, tout ce que disaient les envoyés des Bacchiades devant la porte de la maison. Le commentaire à leur deuxième échec est clair: «il fallait que la descendance d'Éétion fût pour Corinthe le germe d'infortunes» (92δ1). La première tentative échouée nous donne une impression pareille: «Quand Labda l'eut apporté et le leur eut donné, un hasard divin voulut qu'il sourît (θείη τύχη προσεγέλασε τὸ παιδίον) à l'homme qui l'avait reçu; cet homme s'en aperçut, un mouvement de pitié le retint de tuer l'enfant» (92γ3).

Il me semble évident que pour le public d'Hérodote, habitué aux représentations tragiques, ce signal n'était pas indifférent. Il est clair que l'accent du récit repose précisément sur les deux moments de l'intervention divine¹⁴². Les remarques de ce type ne sont pas fréquentes chez Hérodote. Rares sont également les signaux concernant le destin, la chute inévitable d'un personnage ou d'un pays¹⁴³.

avoir la possibilité de montrer le dénouement de l'action (l'accomplissement des avertissements concernant le rôle futur d'Athènes), car cela se place en dehors de son récit!

¹⁴² Chez Hérodote, il y a des cas pareils: I 62.4–63.1 (mû par une impulsion divine [θείη πομπή], Amphilytos, qui se connaissait en prophéties, se présenta devant Pisistrate et prononça, inspiré par les dieux [ἐνθεάζων], un oracle. Le tyran comprend le sens de la prophétie et vaincra l'ennemi); dans I 126.6 («Moi», dit Cyrus, «je crois être né par une rencontre que les dieux ont voulue [θείη τύχη γεγονώς]») il s'agit exactement du sauvetage miraculeux de l'enfant condamné à mort à peu près comme Kypsélos; III 139.3 (Syloson prédit θείη τύχη le pouvoir à Darius); IV 8.3 (Héraclès s'arrête θείη τύχη dans un endroit en Scythie. Par conséquent, il donne la vie à la dynastie royale des Scythes).

¹⁴³ Voir I 8 (Candaules); II 161.3 (Apriès); III 64.5 & 65.3 (Cambysès); III 154.1 (Babylon); IV 79.1 (Scylès); IV 164.4 (Arcésilaos); V 33.2 (Naxos); VII 17.2 (Artabane et Xerxès). Cf. également une généralisation: IX 16.4; cf. aussi II 133.3. — Il ne s'agit

L'intervention divine est plus nette quand l'enfant sourit, moins marquée quand Labda cache le fils dans un coffre. Dès qu'on les rapproche des oracles donnés respectivement à Éétion, à Kypsélos et aux Bacchiades, les deux scènes indiquent que ce qui compte en premier lieu, c'est le résultat du sauvetage: le pouvoir pernicieux du tyran à Corinthe. L'analogie entre l'image concrète du tyran et la métaphore politique πόλις τύραννος nous permet d'appliquer l'expression θεῖη τύχη à la situation du rassemblement à Sparte de 506 av. J.-C. Le résultat de la délibération commence une longue suite d'événements qui aboutiront à l'ὑβρις d'Athènes et, par la suite, à la guerre fratricide. On ne peut pas ne pas penser que, selon Hérodote, «il fallait que la décision prise fût pour la Grèce entière le germe d'infortunes», le germe de πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια¹⁴⁴; et que les Athéniens avaient échappé au péril θεῖη τύχη, grâce à l'aveuglement prodigieux des Corinthiens.

S'il en est ainsi, on peut comprendre le rôle de notre épisode dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Hérodote. Sa position centrale, déjà signalée, n'est pas indifférente. Du point de vue formel, l'épisode à Sparte (avec le discours de Soclès) fait partie du récit qui sert à éclaircir la raison pour laquelle Aristagoras, après son échec chez les Lacédémoniens, va à Athènes, afin de gagner un allié contre les Perses (V 55.1). Hérodote clôt la digression qui suit (sur les débuts de la liberté d'Athènes) de manière

pas, d'ordinaire, d'une détermination dans notre sens moderne, car ce sont les hommes qui provoquent le malheur. Le rôle de la volonté humaine n'est pas à négliger, bien que souvent on ait affaire avec une interprétation fausse des signes divins. Même le cas le plus clair, à première vue, d'une séduction divine, les rêves de Xerxès qui précèdent la guerre contre les Grecs, n'excluent pas la responsabilité du roi pour ses actes. Cf. N. MARINATOS, *art. cit.* (n. 75), p. 258-264; aussi H.A. GÄRTNER, *Les rêves de Xerxès et d'Artabane chez Hérodote*, *Ktéma* 8 (1983), p. 11-18.

¹⁴⁴ Pour renforcer l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit d'une fatalité, on peut s'appuyer sur un cas analogue: malgré le deuil à cause de la mort de son fils Atys, Crésus est incité à faire quelque chose afin d'arrêter le progrès de la puissance perse (I 46.1-2). Il s'agit encore d'une αὔξησις (τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα — εἴ πως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν). La décision du roi de s'adresser aux oracles n'est que le premier pas vers la catastrophe inévitable, déterminée par le destin. Chez Hérodote, les associations fatales de ce terme du vocabulaire politique (l'agrandissement') ne sont donc pas douteuses (cf., en outre, ci-dessus, p. 246-247 et n. 125, 127). Pour l'αὔξησις athénienne en tant que motif important des *Histoires* d'Hérodote, voir aussi (outre les ouvrages cités: n. 125, 127) H.-F. BORNITZ, *Herodot-Studien*, Berlin 1968, p. 93-94; J. COBET, *Herodots Exkurse und die Frage der Einheit seines Werkes (Historia Einzelschriften, 17)*, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 174-176; K.H. KINZL, *Herodotos-Interpretations*, *RhM* 118 (1975), p. 200-204; J. COBET, *Herodot und mündliche Überlieferung*, dans *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung (Colloquium Rauricum, I)*, éd. J. von Ungern-Sternberg — H. Reinau, Stuttgart 1988, p. 232-233 (avec les notes).

significative: Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νῦν ἡῤ̃ξηντο (V 78). Ils sont, par conséquent, beaucoup plus forts que leurs voisins. Le choix d'Aristagoras est donc raisonnable, «car cette cité était, de toutes les autres, la plus puissante» (αὕτη ἡ πόλις τῶν λοιπέων ἐδυνάστευε μέγιστον, V 97.1). Libérés des tyrans, les Athéniens sont maintenant prêts à intervenir en Asie. Leur αὔξησις rend possible l'envoi de la flotte qui «fut la source de calamités pour les Grecs et pour les Barbares» (αὗται δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροισι, 97.3 *ad fin.*). Or, le rassemblement à Sparte est introduit au moyen d'un synchronisme artificiel: les Athéniens «se préparaient à la vengeance [*contre les Eginètes*], quand une affaire que leur suscitèrent les Lacédémoniens se mit en travers de leurs projets» (ἐς τιμωρίην δὲ παρασκευαζομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων πρῆγμα ἐγείρομενον ἐμπόδιον ἐγένετο, 90.1)¹⁴⁵. La suggestion de l'écrivain est claire: il s'agissait de la dernière occasion de mettre fin à l'agrandissement dangereux d'Athènes. La remarque de l'écrivain qui ouvre l'épisode, et l'avertissement d'Hippias qui le termine se font donc pendant¹⁴⁶.

Soclès néglige tous les signaux qui, en dernière analyse, tirent leur origine des dieux. De là l'ironie d'Hérodote. Elle n'a pas du tout le caractère d'une dérision. Elle prend sa force et sa signification justement de cette perspective divine. L'aveuglement des protagonistes et leur ὕβρις sont à lier à un ensemble d'idées générales concernant la condition humaine tout court, mais aussi les problèmes urgents de la politique contemporaine, le conflit entre les Grecs. Le renversement ironique n'est qu'un des outils dont l'écrivain se sert afin de nouer le dialogue avec le public au sujet de l'actualité.

Si l'on aborde, dans cette perspective, le problème déjà signalé de la partialité d'Hérodote, on voit aussitôt que la question a été mal posée. Car soutenir que l'historien prend parti en faveur d'Athènes dans la situation politique de la guerre du Péloponnèse, signifie qu'on pense que les Athéniens échappent, selon Hérodote, aux mécanismes habituels de l'agrandissement et de la chute inévitable d'un homme ou d'un pays¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁵ A propos de ce procédé, voir A. CORCELLA (n. 73), p. IX-X; R.W. MACAN (n. 11), I, *ad* IV 145.1; A.A. HOW – J. WELLS (n. 33), II, *ad* 90.1.

¹⁴⁶ A la vengeance qui menace les Eginètes s'ajoute aussi le cas des autres voisins d'Athènes, Béotiens et Chalcidiens, qui, selon les Spartiates, doit servir leurs alliées de leçon (V 91.2).

¹⁴⁷ Voir déjà H. STRASBURGER, *art. cit.* (n. 53), surtout p. 4-7.

Cependant, ces mécanismes dirigent l'action dans l'œuvre entière et permettent au public de s'orienter dans des contextes différents. Dans la pensée de l'écrivain il ne s'agit pas de blâmer quelqu'un, d'exprimer un jugement moral défavorable. Une partialité en faveur de, ou contre, tel ou tel protagoniste d'un grand conflit ne s'accorderait pas plus avec les procédés littéraires d'Hérodote, qu'elle ne s'accordait avec ceux d'Homère. (Le cas de la 'politisation' de la tragédie attique n'est pas un parallèle exact, car elle était destinée justement au public athénien.) La perspective d'Hérodote est panhellénique, ainsi qu'il ressort du récit sur les guerres médiques. Le choix de ce thème n'est pas indifférent à la veille de la grande guerre entre les Grecs. Un des procédés qui rendent possible de lier les actions des grands protagonistes grecs du passé à la contemporanéité, c'est l'ironie de l'écrivain. La perspective, si l'on peut dire, surhumaine, choisie par l'historien, n'engage pas un jugement moral particulier; au contraire, elle crée une distance entre le public et le sujet, notamment les héros du récit¹⁴⁸. Montrer un personnage séduit par le divin, veut dire le rattacher à une réalité qui échappe au jugement restreint qui est accessible aux hommes.

Une fois ces conclusions tirées, on peut mieux comprendre la tradition bien attestée des récitations publiques de l'écrivain¹⁴⁹. Pourvu de la capacité de prendre une distance ironique à l'égard des personnages du récit, l'auditoire n'était pas tenté de chercher, sous la surface des choses, une polémique au sujet de la politique actuelle. On attendait que l'auteur rehausse les grandes actions passées de la cité en les insérant parmi les *ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ θωμαστά* de son œuvre, et on aurait été déçu de constater qu'il ne le faisait pas¹⁵⁰. Mais les événements et les décisions qui ont été vraiment lourds de sens, et qui ont déterminé, de manière

¹⁴⁸ Cf. aussi C.W. FORNARA, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 62-73, à propos de Thémistoclès et de Pausanias. C'est un autre trait 'homérique' de l'œuvre d'Hérodote. Pour Homère, cf. J. GRIFFIN, *Homeric Words and Speakers*, *JHS* 106 (1986), *passim*.

¹⁴⁹ Surtout Diyllos (*FGrHist* 73 F3) cité par Plutarque (*De malignitate*, 862b). Malgré l'opinion d'A. MOMIGLIANO (*The Historians of the Classical World and their Audiences: Some Suggestions*, dans *Sesto contributo*, vol. I, Roma 1980, p. 366-368), cf. F. JACOBY, *art. cit.* (n. 96), col. 226 et suiv.; A.J. PODLECKI, *art. cit.* (n. 21), *passim*; Virginia HUNTER, *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides*, Princeton (NJ) 1982, p. 324-325; J.A.S. EVANS, *Herodotus, Explorer of the Past. Three Essays*, Princeton (NJ) 1991, avant tout p. 99-101; Rosalind THOMAS, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 1992, p. 125-126.

¹⁵⁰ Tel est, entre autres, le sens des critiques de Plutarque, cf., à titre d'exemple, *De malignitate* 854a; 858a-b; 859c-d; 861b-c; 862b-c; 863b-864c; 865a-866c; 866d-867b, etc.

funeste, la situation contemporaine, ne sont pas traités avec partialité¹⁵¹. Ils se placent, en revanche, dans le domaine où règnent les puissances du destin. Les rôles respectifs de tel ou tel protagoniste dans le récit d'Hérodote ne sont pas du tout égaux, mais ils se rapportent tous à une vision du monde qui dépasse les limites des événements historiques.

De là deux conséquences. D'une part, le caractère fugitif des allusions de l'historien. Pour un Thucydide, les procédés utilisés par Hérodote témoignent du caractère blâmable de son œuvre (ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν, I 22.4), car ils ne s'accordent pas avec les principes de la méthode, indispensables pour qu'on puisse aborder la tâche responsable d'écrire l'histoire. Hérodote, cependant, ne veut pas offrir un enseignement politique destiné aux générations futures (κτῆμα ἐς αἰεῖ), mais un enseignement de portée plus générale, sur la condition humaine en premier lieu.

D'autre part, les questions politiques du jour sont toujours rapportées par Hérodote, délibérément, à la réalité éternelle et, par conséquent, aux idées morales, ou plutôt aux sentiments moraux plus ou moins partagés par les contemporains. Mais, en réalité, il en est ainsi également dans l'«histoire politique» de Thucydide. Comme l'a démontré déjà Francis Macdonald Cornford¹⁵², l'historien de la guerre du Péloponnèse dépend et prend sa force de la tragédie attique, qui exprime les tendances les plus profondes de la pensée grecque de l'époque¹⁵³.

Warszawa

Marek WĘCOWSKI

¹⁵¹ Tel est aussi le cas d'un passage fameux (VII 139), où Hérodote défend les Athéniens contre les accusations de la part de ses contemporains, faisant appel au rôle décisif d'Athènes durant les guerres médiques.

¹⁵² *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, London 1907. J'espère pouvoir développer ailleurs le problème de la polémique thucydidéenne et celui du contraste apparent de ses principes avec les principes d'Hérodote.

¹⁵³ Outre les ouvrages déjà cités, cf. un article célèbre de F.W. WALBANK, *History and Tragedy*, *Historia* 9 (1960), p. 216-234, qui souligne les liens forts entre histoire et tragédie dès les débuts de l'historiographie grecque. Selon Plutarque (*De glor. Athen.* 347a), Thucydide veut transformer son auditeur en un spectateur, en un témoin des événements du récit (οἷον θεατὴν ποιῆσαι τὸν ἀκροατήν), au moyen d'une vivacité extrême (ἐνάργεια). Tel est aussi le sentiment de Denys d'Halicarnasse (*De Thuc.* 15.1-4).

THE ORIGINS OF THE RIVALRY BETWEEN PHILOPOEMEN AND FLAMININUS*

According to Plutarch's life of Philopoemen of Megalopolis, the ambitious T. Quinctius Flamininus showed resentment at the love and honour Philopoemen received from the Greeks in consequence of his military successes against Nabis in 192¹. As a Roman consul², he considered himself more worthy of Achaean admiration than an Arcadian, and he believed that in benefactions he surpassed him not just a little, having freed those parts of Greece that had been dominated by Philip and the Macedonians by just a single proclamation³.

Philopoemen's campaign, however, had not been a success all the way. It began badly with a naval defeat, which turned into a true humiliation for him, convinced as he was that his capabilities as an infantry commander would suffice to ensure success at sea⁴. Philopoemen did strike back immediately, profiting from the enemy's failure to follow up their naval victory. But Nabis knew exactly where to expect the subsequent invasion of Lacedaemonia and gave the Achaean a hard time, although in this case Philopoemen could secure final victory thanks to his military experience⁵.

The same theme is repeated in Plutarch's biography of Flamininus, where the latter's φιλονικία and ζηλοτυπία towards Philopoemen are mentioned as a possible explanation of why Flamininus brought the war with Nabis to a premature end, leaving the defeated tyrant in control of Sparta. Plutarch says he did so either because he feared that if the war took too long he would have to leave the glory of victory to another Roman

* An earlier version of this paper was presented as part of a seminar entitled "Luoghi e forme d'incontro fra etnie nel mondo antica" at the Università degli studi di Bologna. I am grateful to the members of the Dipartimento di Storia Antica for suggestions and encouragement. Prof. G. Schepens has added greatly to the quality of the written version of this paper. Any remaining errors are of course mine alone.

¹ All dates are BC.

² Actually, he was at this stage one of four legates sent to Greece by the Senate: see below p. 000 with n. 41.

³ Plut., *Phil.* 15.1-2. Citations of Plutarch follow the edition of K. ZIEGLER, *Plutarchi Vitae parallelae* II.2 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig 1968.

⁴ Plut., *Phil.* 14.4.

⁵ Plut., *Phil.* 14.8-9.

general⁶, or because of his feelings towards Philopoemen, who after his actions in the war against Nabis was admired by the Achaeans as much as Flamininus, and was honoured in their theatres. Flamininus held this to be out of proportion for an Arcadian fighting small border wars, though Plutarch adds the formal explanation Flamininus gave to defend his action⁷.

This rivalry between Philopoemen and Flamininus is elaborated in detail⁸ by Plutarch throughout his parallel lives of the two men. It may even explain why he chose to treat them, making for the first and only time two contemporaries the subject of parallel lives⁹. Clearly the rivalry between the two men originated during the war of 192 against Nabis of Sparta. It must have been a very well-known theme, since it is also found in Livy's more circumstantial account of the war. He too ends with the statement that, on returning home, the Achaeans considered Philopoemen to be just as famous as the Roman commander, and as far as the war against the Spartans was concerned even more so¹⁰. Not only does Livy elaborate the military events of the campaign, but contrary to Plutarch he also provides us with information on the events leading up to the war as well as on the diplomatic contacts between Achaea and Rome, which shed a more nuanced light on the origins of the rivalry.

When Nabis commenced hostilities by attacking Gytheum, the Achaeans, charged by the Romans with the responsibility of safeguarding the freedom of the coastal perioecic towns¹¹, sent an embassy to the Roman Senate to inquire how it wanted them to handle the situation. When the envoys returned, the Achaeans called an assembly at Sicyon and at the same time sent another embassy to Flamininus. At the meeting in Sicyon all present were in favour of immediate war, until Flamininus' written advice to await the Roman fleet before undertaking any action cast new doubt among the participants. Some wanted to abide by

⁶ While a recurrent motive, it may not have been a very real danger here, although it fits in the tradition of Flamininus' 'selfish ambition', cf. F.M. WOOD, *The Tradition of Flamininus* 'Selfish Ambition' in Polybius and Later Historians, in TAPhA 70 (1939), p. 93-103.

⁷ Plut., *Flam.* 13.1-4.

⁸ See J.J. WALSH, *Syzygy, Theme and History. A Study in Plutarch's 'Philopoemen' and 'Flamininus'*, in *Philologus* 136 (1992), p. 208-233.

⁹ J. GEIGER, *Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives': the Choice of Heroes*, in *Hermes* 109 (1981), p. 90 with n. 19, believes that Plutarch started his composition with the *Flamininus*, making the *Philopoemen* a byproduct; apparently the hostility was greater on Flamininus' part, see R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, Oxford 1969, p. 99-100.

¹⁰ Livy XXXV.30.13; cf. also XXXV 47.4

¹¹ Livy XXXV 13.2; cf. XXXVIII 31.2.

their initial decision, while others found it difficult to reject advice they themselves had solicited. All awaited the opinion of Philopoemen, who was at that time 'praetor' (i.e. strategos of the League) and superior to all in authority and caution. He referred to the Aetolian League, where the praetor was not allowed to give an opinion in questions of war. He asked them to take a quick decision and assured them that, whatever the outcome, he would execute their orders. This urged them more to decide unanimously in favour of war than if he had openly shown himself to be desiring war. War was ordered, leaving it to Philopoemen to decide when and how. In this connection Livy adds that Philopoemen agreed with Flamininus' advice to await the Roman fleet, but feared that if he did not act immediately, Gytheum would be lost¹².

Thus our main sources on the war between the Achaeans and Nabis of Sparta, Plutarch and Livy, agree on the resulting rivalry between Philopoemen and Flamininus, each giving incomplete but complementary accounts of the outbreak and course of the war itself. Also, some minor differences can be shown to exist between the two versions.

Oddly enough, Pausanias, our third major source on the role of Philopoemen in the war against Nabis, does not speak of the rivalry with Flamininus. Pausanias does not even mention the Roman in the context of this war. His story¹³ is restricted to the naval fiasco, the attack on Nabis' camp a few days later, and Philopoemen's ability to turn a difficult situation into victory by adapting the deployment of his troops to the nature of the terrain.

The aim of the present paper is to determine whether the obvious differences in these three accounts can be satisfactorily interpreted solely on the basis of their respective authors' different approaches and methods, or whether they should be explained by the use of different sources.

Before considering the sources and their possible influence, however, let us first look at how events can be reconstructed from Plutarch, Livy and Pausanias¹⁴.

*

* *

¹² Livy XXXV 25.

¹³ Paus. VIII 50.6-10.

¹⁴ A. AYMARD, *Les premiers rapports de Rome et de la confédération achaienne*, Bordeaux 1938, p. 294-315; E. BADIEN, *Studies in Greek and Roman History*, Oxford 1964, p. 112-139; G.A. LEHMANN, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Glaubwürdigkeit des Polybios (Fontes et commentationes, 5)*, Münster 1967, p. 235-236; R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 90-115; J. DEININGER, *Der politische Widerstand gegen Rom in Griechenland*

T. Quinctius Flaminius, consul in 198, had seen his consulship prorogated twice, culminating in his famous declaration of the freedom of the Greeks at the Isthmian games in 196¹⁵. Subsequently, he used his powers¹⁶ to react against Nabis of Sparta's occupation of Argos¹⁷. Nabis was defeated, and peace concluded in 195, stipulating the loss of his fleet and the coastal perioecic towns, such as Gytheum, to the supervision of Achaea, Rome's new ally in the region¹⁸. Flaminius then returned to Rome, hoping to get his solution for the situation ratified by the Senate. Meanwhile all Roman troops were withdrawn from Greece¹⁹.

Philopoemen had left Achaea in 200 — two years before Flaminius first came to Greece — upon the election of Cycliadas as strategos for 200/199, returning to Crete as a mercenary for the second time²⁰.

At some point before his election as federal strategos for the year 193/192 he returned to Megalopolis. Livy merely says that he headed the Achaean League when it assembled at Sicyon to discuss action against Nabis (*is tum praetor erat*)²¹. Plutarch is more specific, stating that he came back to the Peloponnese to find Nabis campaigning against Gytheum (εἵρε ... τὸν δὲ Νάβιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολεμούμενον)²². This is confirmed by Pausanias (ἐπάνεισί τε ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον κατελάμβανεν ἐπανηρημένους πρὸς Νάβιν)²³, who says he returned because the Arcadians were furious with him for going abroad, adding that Philopoemen also wanted his share of the fighting.

217-86 v.Chr., Berlin-New York 1971, p. 108-118; A. BASTINI, *Der achaische Bund als hellenische Mittelmacht. Geschichte des achäischen Koinon in der Symmachie mit Rom* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 3: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, Bd 335), Frankfurt-Bern-New York-Paris 1987, p. 66-71; E. GRUEN, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, 2 vol., Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1984, p. 462-467; P. CARTLEDGE — A. SPAWFORTH, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of Two Cities (States and Cities of Ancient Greece)*, London-New York 1989, p. 75-79; D. GOLAN, *The Res Graeciae in Polybius. Four Studies* (Biblioteca di Athenaeum, 27), Como 1995, p. 119-121.

¹⁵ See mainly Polyb. XVIII 11.2, 43-47; Livy XXXI 28.9, XXX 25.11, 27-35; Plut., *Flam.* 7.1-2, 9-12.

¹⁶ See Livy XXXIII 43.6.

¹⁷ Livy XXXIV 22-41; Plut., *Flam.* 13.1-4.

¹⁸ Livy XXXV 13.2: *Achaeis omnium maritimum Laconum tuendorum a T. Quinctio cura mandata erat*; cf. XXXVIII 31.2. For the full peace terms of 195 see XXXIV 36.

¹⁹ In 194: Livy XXXIV 48.2-51.

²⁰ The first time was after the battle near Sellasia in 222.

²¹ Livy XXXV 25.6; cf. XXXVIII 30.4 for a similar expression.

²² Plut., *Phil.* 14.1.

²³ Paus. VIII 50.6.

Therefore he must have gone back to Achaea some time in 193, after the hostilities with Nabis had already commenced but still in time to be elected strategos for the following year (193/192). On this last ground, Errington has argued that he arrived almost a year earlier, in the autumn of 194²⁴, linking his return to the end of the war on Crete. In fact, as was already pointed out by A. Aymard²⁵, Philopoemen hardly needed an extensive electoral campaign, at a moment when war with Nabis was imminent, thanks to his military reputation and above all his earlier successes against Sparta²⁶. Errington furthermore disregards the clear indication in Plutarch and Pausanias that hostilities had already begun at the time of Philopoemen's return, because he believes that the Aetolian scheme to stir up hostilities was proposed at the Aetolian assembly held in connection with the *Thermica*, which took place in the autumn. As I will argue below, this does not leave enough time to fit in the events described in Livy. The Aetolian decision fell on the *Panaetolica*, in spring 193.

Assuming that hostilities then began during the summer, the prospect of war may even have been the ultimate motive for Philopoemen's return to Achaea. There is enough evidence of multiple contacts between Crete and the Peloponnese to assume he was able to follow the developing situation closely. The inscription from Aptera²⁷ honouring Tiso of Patrae, Philopoemen's fleet commander in the war against Nabis²⁸, is not the only one of its kind²⁹; and during the war Philopoemen had Cre-

²⁴ R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 90 with n. 4, against G.A. LEHMANN, *Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 235, who suggested late summer 193. Cf. also J. DEININGER, *Widerstand*, p. 110 n. 2. Precisely when the electoral meeting was held in this period cannot be established; see A. AYMARD, *Assemblées*, p. 261-262, as well as his *Premiers rapports*, p. 303 n. 49, where he argues for a very late date, assuming that the embassy to Rome mentioned by Livy (XXXV 25.4) was sent before Philopoemen's election and that it must be dated to the end of October or even the beginning of November. See p. 000 below.

²⁵ A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 303 n. 48; cf. also J. DEININGER, *Widerstand*, p. 110 n. 2.

²⁶ Notably his victory against Machanidas at Mantinea in 207 (Polyb. XI 8-18; Plut., *Phil.* 10) and his earlier successful expedition against Nabis in 200 (Polyb. XVI 13.3; Plut., *Phil.* 12.4-5; Pausanias VIII 50.5).

²⁷ *Inscr. Cret.* II iii 6E; cf. R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 46.

²⁸ See Livy XXXV 25.7. J. BRISCOE, *A Commentary on Livy Books XXXIV-XXXVII*, Oxford 1981, p. 184, rightly corrects the reading of the mss. (*Patrensis Piso*), but fails to note the identification with the Tiso honoured at Aptera.

²⁹ Cretan communities had close connections with most Hellenistic powers (see recently Sylvia KREUTER, *Aussenbeziehungen kretischer Gemeinden zu den hellenistischen Staaten im 3. und 2. Jh. v.Chr.* [Münchener Arbeiten zur Alten Geschichte, 6], München 1992), although parallels between developments and coalitions on Crete and mainland Greece may not have been as obvious as presented by R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 27-48.

tan mercenaries at his disposal³⁰. So did Nabis³¹, who may have recruited them prior to attacking Gytheum³², even though the treaty of 195 explicitly forbade him to have contact with Crete³³.

The conflict began when Nabis decided to act against the settlement of 195 by sending agents to the perioecic towns on the Laconian coast. This action was inspired by the Aetolians, who were unhappy with the meagre reward they received for taking the Roman side in the war against Philip of Macedon. Seeking revenge they tried to bring about a coalition between Antiochus the Great and Philip, sending envoys to both. At the same time they sent Damocritus to the Spartans. He tried to persuade Nabis to regain access to the sea by occupying the coastal towns left to the Achaeans³⁴. Nabis sent agents to stir up civil unrest, offering gifts to some leading politicians to bring them over to his side and killing others³⁵. Apparently the only coastal town not to respond positively to Nabis' agents was Gytheum.

Five actions preceded the Achaean decision, taken at the meeting in Sicyon, to finally go to war against Nabis to regain control of the Laconian coastal towns. These events, described by Livy, irrefutably demonstrate their extreme caution.

The first, immediate³⁶ measure was to send legates to Nabis; his reaction, if any, is unknown. Secondly, *auxilia* were sent to Gytheum³⁷. Thirdly, concluding the immediate actions taken, an embassy was sent to Rome to inform the Senate of what had happened³⁸ and to find out which steps were to be taken³⁹. Once this embassy was on its way, no further action was undertaken as long as the envoys had not returned with the Roman reply⁴⁰.

We hear of their return — we also meet them in Rome, see below — but nothing of the contents of the Roman message. The next two steps

³⁰ Livy XXXV 28.8.

³¹ Livy XXXV 29.2.

³² Thus A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 297 n. 16; R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 92, argues that they were the same as in the war of 195, having simply not been dismissed.

³³ Livy XXXIV 36.9.

³⁴ Livy XXXV 12.2-9.

³⁵ Livy XXXV 13.1.

³⁶ Livy XXXV 13.2: *extemplo*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Livy XXXV 25.4.

⁴⁰ Livy XXXV 25.1.

the Achaeans took, however, disclose its gist: another embassy was sent to T. Quinctius Flamininus to ask for his advice — Flamininus had been sent by the Senate together with three other envoys to counter Aetolian influence and rally the Greek communities against Antiochus.⁴¹ — and at the same time the meeting in Sicyon was called⁴².

It has been a matter of some debate whether the events described so far, which testify to the Achaean's cautious policy towards Rome, should be placed before or after Philopoemen's election⁴³. It is very difficult to determine when the embassy to Rome, reporting to the Senate the aggression of Nabis and the Achaean reaction, was sent. The whole chronology of the period is rather obscure, there being but one more or less definitely datable fact: the Achaean embassy appears to have been in Rome at the time the Roman embassy to Antiochus returned, i.e. after the allotting of the provinces and armies⁴⁴ at the end of 193, and at the same time⁴⁵ as events in Liguria narrated in Livy's previous chapter⁴⁶.

From this it follows that the embassy must have arrived some time before the middle of December 193 and was still there when the Roman envoys to Antiochus, who had heard of Nabis' aggression on their way back through Greece, returned to Rome.

The sending of the embassy cannot have taken place later than early November or even the end of October⁴⁷. This practically rules out that

⁴¹ Livy XXXV 23.5. In the meantime, the Senate, already aware of the situation prior to the arrival of the Achaean embassy, had ordered a fleet and army to be readied in the south of Italy, cf. Livy XXXV 20.9-12, whose source in this case is annalistic; from 25.1, turning to Greece again, Polybius is followed anew.

⁴² Livy XXXV 25.4.

⁴³ See most recently E. GRUEN, *Coming of Rome*, p. 463 n. 152.

⁴⁴ Livy XXXV 20.14: *ceterum legati ad Antiochum missi exspectabantur, et priusquam ii redissent, ...*

⁴⁵ Livy XXXV 22.1; cf. O. LEUZE, *Die Feldzüge Antiochos des Großen nach Kleinasien und Thrakien*, in *Hermes* 58 (1923), p. 243 n. 1. The expression *sub idem tempus* is used on several occasions where the contemporaneity of events allows it, see W. WEISSENORN – H.J. MÜLLER, *Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita Libri*, vol. 8, Berlin 1906³, p. 35. The fact that the Achaean envoys were still in Rome follows clearly from the use of the imperfect *nuntiabant*.

⁴⁶ Livy XXXV 21.7-11.

⁴⁷ It seems reasonable enough to believe that it took them three to six weeks to cover the distance between the Peloponnese and Rome. It has been calculated that a messenger could travel at about 5 miles an hour or 50 miles a day (see L. CASSON, *Travel in the Ancient World*, London 1974, p. 188, following C.W. ELIOT, *New Evidence for the Speed of the Roman Imperial Post*, in *Phoenix* 9, 1955, p. 76-80). The journey from Brundisium to Rome (best documented in our sources) *could* be made in about seven days. But we should bear in mind that the figures we find in our sources usually concern exceptionally fast trips (cf. A.M. RAMSEY, *The Speed of the Roman Imperial Post*, in *JRS* 15, 1925, p. 60-74).

the Aetolian decision to send Damocritus to Sparta to persuade Nabis was taken as late as autumn 193. Errington assumed that this decision was taken at the autumn meeting of the Aetolian league held in connection with the *Thermica*⁴⁸. This definitely does not leave enough time for the actions Nabis is said to have undertaken. Errington realised this difficulty and solved it by suggesting that Nabis must have already been encouraging his old supporters in the maritime towns⁴⁹. This seems to me unlikely since his action was clearly inspired by the Aetolians. The Aetolian decision to send Damocritus more likely fell on the *Panaetolica* in the spring of 193⁵⁰, Nabis' agents being active throughout the summer. With only Gytheum resisting, military action will have followed in late summer.

This explains why the Romans had already heard of the hostilities⁵¹ by the time the Achaean embassy arrived in Rome, even though Livy says the Achaean reaction was *extemplo*. He uses the same word for Nabis' reaction to the Aetolian embassy of Damocritus, where it is weakened because it stands in opposition to *non moti* in the previous sentence, referring to the kings.

As I have argued above that Philopoemen must have returned to Achaëa some time during the summer, it may be concluded that the first three reactions (the sending of an embassy to Nabis, of *auxilia* to Gytheum, and of an embassy to Rome explaining the action undertaken) came before his election, maybe even before his return, as an immediate response to Nabis⁵².

The sending of another embassy, this time to Flamininus, on his way to Greece, and the calling of the meeting in Sicyon obviously followed Philopoemen's election to the *strategia*, which will not have taken place before November. To suppose that he had not yet been elected by the

Horace's journey from Rome to Brundisium (*Sat.* I.5), which took him two weeks, may give us a better idea of the speed at which a company of Achaean envoys may have travelled (cf. L. CASSON, *Travel*, p. 194-196). The Achaeans were already in Rome when the Roman embassy returned.

⁴⁸ R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 92, referring to J.A.O. LARSEN, *The Assembly of the Aetolian League*, in *TAPhA* 83 (1952), p. 1-33.

⁴⁹ R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 93.

⁵⁰ Cf. E. BADIAN, *Studies*, p. 138 n. 84, J. DEININGER, *Widerstand*, p. 69 n. 6; also J. BRISCOE, *Commentary*, p. 129.

⁵¹ Livy XXXV 20.9-12; see note 41.

⁵² *Contra* Errington, who would attribute the entire Achaean reaction, including the first three steps taken, to Philopoemen, in order to prove that his election did not mean a radical change in policy, as A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 304, would have it.

time the meeting in Sicyon was called would force us to accept that the electoral meeting would have taken place in the meantime. It is of course possible, albeit unlikely, that he had already been elected but not yet assumed power.

The Achaean envoys bearing the answer of the Senate concerning Flamininus will not have returned until the end of January. Oddly enough, we do not now where Flamininus was at that time⁵³. He could not have arrived at Acrocorinth yet⁵⁴, since it took longer to get his reply than to assemble all the members of the League in a *synkletos*. Once he did get to Achaëa, it was only for a very brief moment, and the war was already well under way⁵⁵.

Livy stresses Philopoemen's agreement with Flamininus that it was strategically better to wait for the support of the Roman fleet. Nevertheless, Philopoemen started the war straightaway, in the hope of liberating the Achaean auxiliaries that had been sent in support of Gytheum before his election to strategos. Livy, Plutarch and Pausanias all record the first, naval phase of the war, which resulted in a true humiliation for Philopoemen. He was convinced that he could break through the naval blockade Nabis had organised off Gytheum, using as his flagship a famous but old vessel.

There appears to be a discrepancy in the number of years given by Plutarch and Livy for the ship's age. (Pausanias merely mentions that the ship leaked.) According to Livy the ship had been captured eighty years earlier, when it carried Craterus' wife Nicaea from Naupactus to Corinth⁵⁶. Plutarch, on the other hand, speaks of forty years⁵⁷. However, he is not referring to its capture, but merely says that the ship was pulled

⁵³ Cf. A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 305 n. 55.

⁵⁴ Flamininus and the other envoys will not have departed immediately; if he was so near, the answer will not have been given in writing. Acrocorinth was the place he would be expected to reside in: cf. Livy XXXIV 1; XXXIX 1; XXXIX 8.

⁵⁵ While the war was still going on, Flamininus and his colleagues inferred from it that the Achaeans would be faithful enough to them on other issues, and they went first to Athens, Chalcis and Thessaly: see Livy XXXV 31.1-3. J. DEININGER, *Widerstand*, p. 115, places their visit to Achaëa already in February 192 which is certainly too early; the war, already well under way, had started with a naval campaign, hardly imaginable before March, *a fortiori* with Philopoemen's unseaworthy ship, which still made it from Patrae to Gytheum.

⁵⁶ XXXV 26.5: *capta annis LXXX ante*. Briscoe may be right in correcting the manuscripts' reading to sixty years, since as far as can be inferred from other sources the event would fit better in the year 252 than in 272; for his full argumentation, see *Commentary*, p. 183.

⁵⁷ Plut., *Phil.* 14.5: δι' ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα κατασπᾶσας.

into the sea after forty years (i.e. of disuse). It is not inconceivable that it had been used for some years after it had been taken, before being pulled definitely onto shore as a kind of museum-piece⁵⁸.

The vessel still managed to sail all the way from Aegium to the Laconian bay. This suggests that by then winter was over. But it did not survive the first clash with the enemy. Philopoemen escaped in a small boat and did not stop until he reached Patrae⁵⁹.

From there he decided to strike back while Nabis was still enjoying his victory, convinced that Philopoemen would wait before undertaking further action. His surprise attack on one of Nabis' camps, which was burned down allowing only few to escape, is described by Plutarch, Pausanias and Livy, the latter providing the most detail⁶⁰. This also holds for the rest of the war, narrated by Livy with precise topographical indications and detailed analysis of military events, while Plutarch concentrates on Philopoemen's role in these events in just a few sentences. Pausanias even limits himself to the final victory, achieved from an inferior position, thanks to Philopoemen.

Compared with the rest of his account, Livy relates the end of the war much more concisely: with Nabis trapped inside the city, Philopoemen pillaged the countryside for thirty days before retreating, leaving the tyrant's power weakened and almost broken⁶¹. In Achaea he was welcomed in the way described above. The termination of the war was apparently his own initiative.

Plutarch's version has nothing on these last thirty days. Describing Flamininus' reaction to Philopoemen's fame, he goes on to the next episode, the incorporation of Sparta in the Achaean League⁶². The sentence connecting both episodes, saying that Flamininus ended the war against Nabis, whereupon the latter was killed by the Aetolians, may suggest a Roman intervention to begrudge Philopoemen the complete victory⁶³. This is confirmed in Plutarch's biography of Flamininus, where we

⁵⁸ J. BRISCOE, *Commentary*, p. 183, rejected Plutarch's forty years, on the grounds that in 243 Acrocorinth was in the hands of the Achaeans, assuming that Plutarch is referring to the same story.

⁵⁹ Livy XXXV 26.9.

⁶⁰ Livy XXXV 27.1-8; Plut., *Phil.* 14.

⁶¹ Livy XXXV 30.12.

⁶² Plut., *Phil.* 15.3.

⁶³ See A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 311; G.A. LEHMANN, *Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 236; A. BASTINI, *Der achäische Bund*, p.70; R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 106, refuses to believe that the campaign was really a success, and suggests that the intervention followed after Philopoemen's retreat to Achaea; E. GRUEN, *Coming of Rome*, p. 465 with n. 161, argues that there was no intervention at all.

read that Flamininus disappointed the hopes of Greece in the end by concluding peace with the tyrant, though he could have captured him⁶⁴. Pausanias is even more clear, stating that Nabis obtained a truce with Rome.

More likely Plutarch and Pausanias may be followed on this issue, since Flamininus, who was not in favour of Achaean intervention in the first place, will have wanted to safeguard his settlement of 195. This implied that Nabis had to be left in control of Sparta to counter the possibility of Achaean supremacy in the Peloponnese. That may indeed have been accomplished by a formal truce between the Romans and Nabis. Possibly it was at that same time that the Roman fleet under Atilius arrived⁶⁵. Somewhat surprisingly Livy omits this information, whereas up to now his account is very detailed. His source may at this stage have contained information unfavourable to Flamininus⁶⁶.

*
* *

The foregoing reconstruction of events should now allow us to concentrate on a historiographical discussion of our three sources, Livy, Plutarch and Pausanias.

As will have become clear, our knowledge of the war against Nabis is based mainly on the account of Livy. It is fuller than the other descriptions as far as the war itself is concerned, and specifically provides some idea of the events leading up to it, which lack completely in Plutarch and Pausanias.

Plutarch, on the other hand, has more information on the return of Philopoemen, who is portrayed as far more decided to go to war. On other points, namely the age of the ship used, and certainly the way the war was concluded, Plutarch offers alternative versions.

Pausanias confirms that Philopoemen returned after hostilities broke out. He also informs us that the Achaeans reproached Philopoemen for his absence. But he does not mention Flamininus, let alone the rivalry that resulted from the war.

While Livy describes the course of the war in considerable detail, he apparently tries to conceal how it was brought to an end. This is known thanks to the information, however brief, in Plutarch and Pausanias.

⁶⁴ Plut., *Flam.* 13.1.

⁶⁵ Argued by A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 309-310.

⁶⁶ A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 308.

How can the variations in these three accounts be explained? One possibility is to suppose the use of different sources. Since these sources are no longer at hand, they will have to be reconstructed before this hypothesis can be checked. However, any reconstruction of lost sources must, of course, remain tentative.

Let us first look at Livy's sources. Ever since Nissen's fundamental work on the fourth and fifth decades, in the middle of the previous century⁶⁷, it has generally been accepted that Livy drew heavily on the *Histories* of Polybius for his account of events in the east.

Of the passages discussed above, only the paragraphs dealing with the events in Rome at the end of 193, revealing the knowledge the Senate already had of the situation in Greece prior to being officially told by the Achaean embassy, were based on other sources, mainly annalistic. All the rest is from Polybius' *Histories*, which were used directly. In this specific instance, where the Polybian original is lost, we cannot compare the two to see how Livy handled his source, but we can rely on other passages where such a comparison has been undertaken⁶⁸.

The first sentence of XXXV 25 clearly marks Livy's transition to another section and also to another source, evidently Polybius⁶⁹. The very detailed description of Philopoemen's military campaign also points to Polybius, who on many occasions emphasises the importance of accurate descriptions of military events⁷⁰. Unfortunately, Livy has not preserved Polybius' account of Philopoemen's return — supposing that Polybius indeed wrote about it in his *Histories* — and he evidently abbreviated the Polybian text when reaching the end of the war to which he devoted so much attention⁷¹.

It seems safe to conclude that the reasoning concerning the events leading up to the war with Nabis as found in Livy is entirely that of Polybius. The *Histories* discussed the personal rivalry between Philopoemen and Flamininus at the end of a very full account of the war and

⁶⁷ H. NISSEN, *Untersuchungen zur 4. und 5. Dekade des Livius*, Berlin 1863.

⁶⁸ The list of parallel passages published by H. TRÄNKLE, *Livius und Polybios*, Basel–Stuttgart 1977, p. 29–31, has become canonical; cf. e.g. J. BRISCOE, *Commentary*, p. 1; more recently M. VON ALBRECHT, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 2 vol., Bern 1992, p. 662–664; E. CIZEK, *Histoire et historiens à Rome dans l'antiquité*, Lyon 1995, p. 153–156.

⁶⁹ See J. BRISCOE, *Commentary*, p. 181.

⁷⁰ See e.g. F.W. WALBANK, *Polybius (Sather Classical Lectures, 42)*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1972, p. 56.

⁷¹ See already A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 308.

of the events leading up to it⁷². The Achaean caution in handling the situation was stressed, even though, charged with the supervision of the towns, they were in no need of the prior agreement of the Senate to react against Nabis' aggression. Once Philopoemen, 'superior to all in prudence and authority', was elected strategos, he did not act until he knew how the Senate wanted him to handle the situation. He followed their advice to consult Flamininus. When the latter's answer came, the same Philopoemen was held responsible for the decision of the Achaean *synkletos* to act against it. This is immediately mitigated by the explanation that Philopoemen agreed completely with Flamininus, but was forced to react before the arrival of the fleet because the Achaean auxiliaries were trapped within the walls of Gytheum. It looks as if the entire passage was written to defend the Achaeans and Philopoemen against the reproach that they were to blame for Flamininus' anger. The latter's intervention to end the war before final victory could be achieved was not appreciated.

Of such a cautious attitude before the war no trace can be found in Plutarch. We hear of Philopoemen's return at a moment when hostilities had already begun. Could it be that Plutarch too used the *Histories*, taking from them only such information as would be of use to him to describe Philopoemen's character in action, resulting in a different narrative? Or must we suppose that the source he consulted was less interested in the events leading up to the war, a source that felt no need to emphasise the Achaean caution? We know that prior to the *Histories* Polybius wrote a work *On Philopoemen*, for he mentions it himself in a passage of the *Histories* fortunately preserved in the Constantinian compilation *De virtutibus et vitiis*⁷³.

That further traces of this lost work might be found in Plutarch's biography of Philopoemen was first suggested by A. Heeren⁷⁴ at the beginning of the 19th century, and quickly adopted by German scholarship throughout that century⁷⁵. This culminated in Nissen's chapter on Plutarch's sources for the *Philopoemen*, added as an appendix to his

⁷² It cannot be excluded that Livy abbreviated his source, as he sometimes did: see H. TRÄNKLE, *Livius und Polybios*, p. 73-97.

⁷³ Now Polyb. X 21.2-8.

⁷⁴ A. HEEREN, *De fontibus et auctoritate vitarum parallelarum*, Göttingen 1820, p. 86-88.

⁷⁵ See F.W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. II, Oxford 1967, p. 221-222, for bibliography.

book on Livy⁷⁶, which remained the fullest treatment for almost a century. P. Pédech⁷⁷ then tried to reconstruct the contents of Polybius' lost work from Plutarch's *vita*, in order to show that it was written in Rome as a «*modèle idéal*» for the young Scipio. His conclusions have been criticised more than the principle that Plutarch used Polybius' work *On Philopoemen* rather than his *Histories*.

However, the correctness of that principle has been increasingly debated ever since K. Ziegler⁷⁸ expressed his doubts about it, assuming that Plutarch used it only for the beginning of his biography, then turning to the *Histories*. R. Errington added that Plutarch had very little information on Philopoemen's Cretan years, two episodes that were irrelevant to the *Histories*, but could not have been ignored in the other work⁷⁹.

H. Nissen felt our passage was based on Polybius' *On Philopoemen* merely because it concorded more or less with the Livian tradition⁸⁰. This of course cannot suffice as evidence that Plutarch used Polybius' monograph on Philopoemen rather than the *Histories*. To prove that, we must look for whatever differences there are between the texts of Plutarch and of Polybius' *Histories*. Only a detailed examination of the complete Plutarchean biography, in comparison with all other extant literary sources on Philopoemen, can ultimately lead to a convincing enumeration of all indications⁸¹. The fact that the major part of Polybius' *Histories* is not preserved directly — in our case for instance only through Livy — makes such a comparison a difficult task.

Our passage certainly provides too few indications. Livy has nothing on when and why Philopoemen returned, but that does not prove that neither did Polybius. Livy's *is tum praetor erat* can even be interpreted as an abbreviating remark referring to a passage that was left out earlier.

⁷⁶ H. NISSEN, *Untersuchungen*, p. 280-287.

⁷⁷ P. PÉDECH, *Polybe et l'«Éloge de Philopoemen»*, in *REG* 64 (1951), p. 82-103.

⁷⁸ K. ZIEGLER, art. *Polybios* (1), in *RE* XXI 2 (1951), col. 1439-1578, esp. col. 1472-1473 n.1.

⁷⁹ R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 237.

⁸⁰ The same reasoning was recently made by H. ACHLEITNER, *Polybios' Philopoimen-Biographie als Quelle für Livius*, in *Hermes* 110 (1982), p. 499-502, who wished to conclude from the reference to Philopoemen's youth in our passage (XXXV 28.7: *ab ineunte aetate*) that even Livy knew and used Polybius' earlier work. Apart from the fact that this can be ruled out almost *a priori* considering Livy's usual method, this is a circular argument for which there is no proof.

⁸¹ I am currently undertaking such an investigation as part of my doctoral dissertation on Polybius' *On Philopoemen*.

It is even more obvious that Livy left out details on the end of the war, where he even had a clear motive: Polybius will not have had very flattering things to say about a treaty with the tyrant Nabis. My earlier explanation of Plutarch's indication concerning the age of Philopoemen's old but famous flagship may suffice to resolve the apparent contradiction between Livy and Plutarch, but it does not provide us with an unambiguous indication that Plutarch used another source than Livy.

Most important is Philopoemen's determination to go to war, which contrasts sharply with the cautious attitude depicted by Livy. Could Plutarch have left out the discussion of the real origins of the friction between the two men, explained so circumstantially by Polybius? After all, this was a central theme in his biographies of the two contemporaries. But even this does not necessarily point to the use of another source. Plutarch, who often abbreviates his sources as far as the circumstances leading up to certain events are concerned⁸², may well have considered the information on the prelude to the actual war irrelevant and therefore omitted it. After all, as our historical reconstruction has shown, the first three actions cannot be ascribed to Philopoemen and were irrelevant to Plutarch. The next two steps, though formally undertaken by Philopoemen, were not really significant for his role in the war. Plutarch may not have been interested in these elements, as most important to him was the rivalry that resulted from the war.

As far as this passage of Plutarch is concerned, there is no clear indication that inevitably leads us to presuppose the use of Polybius' work *On Philopoemen*, or indeed of any other source than his *Histories*.

Pausanias confirms Philopoemen's eagerness to have his share of the fighting. As in Plutarch, there is no trace either of the Achaean caution described in Livy, nor of the contacts with Rome. But Pausanias does seem to add to our information on Philopoemen's return: it was provoked by the ὀργή of the Arcadians. He has the war declared by the Romans. He explains Philopoemen's naval defeat in the same way as Livy, by referring to Homer's verses on the Arcadians, unfamiliar with the sea⁸³. The final battle, won by Philopoemen from an inferior position, is linked to the raid on Nabis' camp. The end of the war is described as in Plutarch, although Pausanias explicitly mentions a truce between Nabis and the Romans. Last but not least, Philopoemen is said

⁸² See e.g. C.B.R. PELLING, *Plutarch's Adaptation of his Source-Material*, in *JHS* 100 (1980), p. 127-128.

⁸³ B 614.

to have gained an even greater reputation in Greece, but there is no trace of any rivalry with Flamininus, who is not even mentioned.

To explain Pausanias' account, the scope of the work — a book on Arcadia — has to be taken into account and his possible source(s) for this passage have to be determined. This takes us back to Heeren's investigation of Plutarch's sources. He noticed that Pausanias' treatment of Philopoemen concurred with that of Plutarch, although it was shorter. He believed Pausanias had nothing that was not in Plutarch too⁸⁴ and was convinced that both used Polybius' *On Philopoemen*⁸⁵.

Nissen modified Heeren's thesis: he adopted the suggestion that Plutarch used *On Philopoemen*, but rejected the view that Pausanias did. Pausanias' variations, as compared to Plutarch, were in his opinion too far removed from Polybius' *Histories*. The similarities in structure and content between the two accounts led him to the conclusion that they could not have been made independently of one another on the basis of the three books *On Philopoemen*. He suggested that Pausanias used Plutarch as his main source and that therefore Pausanias' version was worthless⁸⁶.

Errington⁸⁷ did not agree that Pausanias has no independent value and argued that he must have used both Plutarch and Polybius, but without offering conclusive evidence that he knew the latter's *On Philopoemen*. Recently Bearzot⁸⁸ has suggested a common source of Polybian origin for Plutarch and Pausanias, following a general reappraisal of Pausanias' qualities as an historian⁸⁹.

Is what Pausanias offers merely to be considered a rough summary of Plutarch's *Philopoemen*, or did he add a few things from another source? Was this additional source Polybius' *On Philopoemen* or did he perhaps use this work as his main source? Our passage provides some elements of importance to that discussion.

⁸⁴ A. HEEREN, *De fontibus*, p. 86.

⁸⁵ He was followed by M. HAUG, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Lebensbeschreibungen der Griechen*, Tübingen 1854, p. 85, and by F. RÜHL, *Der letzte Kampf der Achäer gegen Nabis*, in *JKPh* 29 (1883), p. 33-46.

⁸⁶ H. NISSEN, *Untersuchungen*, p. 287, followed by K. ZIEGLER, *Plutarchstudien*, in *RhM* 83(1934), p. 229 n. 1.

⁸⁷ R. ERRINGTON, *Philopoemen*, p. 238-240.

⁸⁸ Cinzia BEARZOT, *Storia e storiografia ellenistica in Pausania il Periegeta*, Venezia 1992, p. 167-182.

⁸⁹ Cf. J. BINGEN (ed.), *Pausanias historien (Entretiens Fondation Hardt, 41)*, Vandœuvres-Genève 1996.

The most striking difference within the context of our investigation into the origins of the rivalry between Philopoemen and Flamininus is, of course, the latter's complete absence. At the end of the war, Philopoemen's reputation is said to have risen even higher, but this was not at the expense of the Roman commander⁹⁰. Pausanias writes about Philopoemen as a digression in his book on Arcadia, inspired by a statue of Philopoemen. This could explain the absence of Flamininus. Still, Pausanias sees the conflict as a war the Romans had declared⁹¹. He even has the Roman fleet involved in the actual fighting and makes Philopoemen's naval defeat a part of it⁹². This is most certainly wrong. We know that a Roman fleet was prepared, but it probably only arrived at the end of the war. Evidently Pausanias knew of the existence of this Roman fleet as well as of Philopoemen's naval defeat, and integrated both into the same story. This must have been his own inference, but it could not have been made merely on the basis of Plutarch, because Plutarch does not mention the Roman fleet.

On the other hand, his account of Philopoemen's return from Crete may have been derived from an earlier passage in Plutarch⁹³, although the mention of the ὀργή of the Arcadians does seem to stand far enough from Plutarch to consider it to be of different origin⁹⁴.

These elements appear to point to the use of another source, perhaps the same source used by Plutarch (in which case both must have used it independently and differently), or another, used to complement the information found in Plutarch.

An element that seems to have been overlooked so far is the explanation given to Philopoemen's naval defeat. Polybius explained it in a general way, preserved in Livy's *arcas, mediterraneus homo*, a very indefinite statement that refers to a well-known passage of the *Iliad*. This is omitted by Plutarch, but repeated by Pausanias. It is therefore unlikely that Pausanias used only Plutarch. We would then have to suppose that he added the same reflection as Polybius without having read it in this

⁹⁰ Not that Pausanias did not know Flamininus: shortly after (VIII 51.1) he relates his planned intervention in Laconia, stopped by Philopoemen.

⁹¹ The Romans have become the real protagonists, see Cinzia BEARZOT, *Pausania*, p. 177 and p. 204 n. 343.

⁹² A comparable situation is found in the battle of Sellasia, where Pausanias (VIII 49.5) makes Philopoemen volunteer as an infantry soldier in order to explain his heroic participation in the fight.

⁹³ Plut., *Phil* 13; see H. NISSEN, *Untersuchungen*, p. 289.

⁹⁴ Cf. already A. AYMARD, *Premiers rapports*, p. 303 n. 48.

context. Furthermore, contrary to what Nissen thought⁹⁵, Pausanias' source indeed appears to be of Polybian origin⁹⁶.

Taken together, these elements point to the use of a source that was either used independently of Plutarch, or consulted to supplement his account. Centered around Philopoemen and of Polybian origin, this may have been the latter's *On Philopoemen*.

On the basis of the given reconstruction of the events and of my historiographical analysis of the sources, the main conclusion is that our information on the origins of the rivalry between Philopoemen and Flamininus stems from Polybius. In a lost part of his *Histories*, preserved through Livy, he narrated the origins of the war with Nabis in detail, in order to present a complete picture to his Roman audience, which was aware of the rivalry but knew only Flamininus' side of the story. Plutarch probably based himself on Polybius' *Histories* for his information not only on Flamininus, but also on Philopoemen. He may have been inspired to compare them by Polybius' discussion of their rivalry. There is no evidence to support the thesis that Plutarch used an earlier work of Polybius *On Philopoemen*. Traces of this lost work may, however, survive in Pausanias' version, based largely on Plutarch but showing some differences that could point to the use of another work of Polybian origin centered on Philopoemen, in which the rivalry may not have been discussed.

Leuven

Jan RAEYMAEKERS

⁹⁵ H. NISSEN, *Untersuchungen*, p. 289.

⁹⁶ For a list of other passages that are clearly of Polybian origin, see Cinzia BEARZOT, *Pausania*, p. 200 n. 287.

THE FORGOTTEN HISTORIAN: LAURENCE ECHARD AND THE FIRST HISTORY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

It is precisely three centuries since the appearance of the first history of the Roman Republic. The same historian was also the author of the first history of England from ancient times to his own, in the early eighteenth century. Yet there would be few historians of Rome or England who could name their predecessor who holds this double first, and it is extraordinarily difficult to find his name mentioned or his work assessed in standard reference works on biography or historiography. Even some two centuries ago, Laurence Echard was described as «a person of some estimation among his contemporaries, but who is little known to us»¹.

*
* *

Laurence Echard² was born near Eccles in Suffolk, and was baptised at Barsham on 23 March 1671/2³. He came from a long line of Anglican

¹ M. NOBLE in GRANGER, *Biographical History of England*, London 1806, vol. III p. 106. Echard cannot be found in J. SANDYS, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 3 vols., Cambridge 1903-1908; H. BARNES, *History of Historical Writing*, Norman (OK) 1938; J. THOMPSON, *The History of Historical Writing*, 2 vols., New York 1941; R. COLLINGWOOD, *The Idea of History*, Oxford 1943; S. KUNITZ – H. HAYCROFT, *British Authors before 1800*, New York 1952 (650 biographies!); S. MAZZARINO, *Storia romana e storiografia moderna*, Rome 1954; or *Blackwell's Dictionary of Historians*, Oxford 1988.

² Although a relative of Dr John Eachard — and he early also spelled his surname with an 'a' — by the time of his MA and in all his books Echard spelled it without.

³ This vital date is given only by R. GOULDING, *Laurence Echard*, privately printed 1927 (no pagination); all other biographical references have only «c. 1671», except the *DNB*, «1670?».

Echard first appears in JOCHER, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, Leipzig 1750, vol. II p. 27, then L. MORERI, *La grande dictionnaire historique*, Paris 1759², vol. IV E p. 13; *Biographia Britannica*, London 1793² (which reached only to F; Echard was not in the first edition); GRANGER, *op. cit.* (n. 1); *The European Magazine* 49 (1806), p. 418-419; S. CUNNINGHAM, *Lives of Eminent and Illustrious Englishmen*, London 1835, vol. IV p. 416-418; W. HOOK, *An Ecclesiastical Biography*, London 1845, vol. IV p. 531; A. ALLIBONE, *Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, London 1859, vol. I (no pagination); *Dictionary of National Biography* [= *DNB*] XVI, Oxford 1888, p. 351-352.

Echard does not appear in Evelyn's diary, the *Gentleman's Magazine* (which began in 1731, the year after his death) or NICHOLS, *Literary Anecdotes*. The is, however, M. NOBLE, *Lives of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1818 (only in MS, at copy at

clergymen. His grandfather John (MA Camb. 1614) was vicar of Barsham from 1617 to 1644; the family had thus been in Suffolk for some generations before Laurence's birth. His father Thomas was a student at St. Catherine's, Cambridge (BA 1660, MA 1664) and married Sarah Ox of Aldborough in 1664. He was rector of Gisleham and vicar of Kessingland in Suffolk 1663-1693. He died in 1693 and is buried at Barsham.

Laurence had at least two brothers. They all attended Christ's College, Cambridge. Christopher (BA 1692, MA 1696) was vicar at Debach, Suffolk, by 1710, and later Cransford. A younger brother Abraham may also have been destined for the ministry, but died while a student and is buried in Great St. Andrews, Cambridge.

Joan Evans in her history of the Society of Antiquaries has one passing reference to Echard, but it reveals something unknown to any other reference: that the family was of Huguenot origin⁴.

Echard was first educated at home. On 26 May 1688 he was admitted a sizar of Christ's College. On 5 November William of Orange landed in England, and the following month James II fled. Echard graduated BA 1691, MA 1695. After graduation, he remained in his college until his Master's degree⁵. His occupations are easy to discover.

While at Cambridge Echard produced an astonishing list of publications: *An Exact Description of Ireland* (1691); *A Description of Flanders* (1691); *The Compleat Compendium of Geography* (1691); *Plautus' Comedies* (1694); *Terence's Comedies made English* (1694); *The Gaze-teer's or Newspaperman's Interpreter* (1695); and *The Roman History from the Building of the City to the Perfect Settlement of the Empire by Augustus Caesar* (1695). He was thus the author of seven books by the time he was twenty-five. His interests clearly divide into two major subjects, geography and classics. For someone of his background and education, the classics need no explanation. His publications in geography make perfect sense also against the background of his times. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century Europe was involved in endless wars,

the Society), and R. GOULDING (above). He furthermore appears in S. HALKETT, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, London 1926, as the author of *Flanders, or the Spanish Netherlands*, 1691 (vol. II p. 301) and *Plautus' Comedies* (vol. IV p. 360), and in D. BAKER – I. REED – S. JONES, *Biographica Dramatica*, London 1812, vol. I p. 215, for his translations of Plautus and Terence.

⁴ Joan EVANS, *History of the Society of Antiquaries*, Oxford 1956, p. 132.

⁵ See esp. T. PEILE, *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, Cambridge 1910, vol. II p. 109, on which, in this case, J. VENN, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge 1922, vol. II.2 p. 80, is dependent.

caused for the most part by the ambitions of the ageing absolutist Louis XIV. The whole of Europe was thrown into turmoil. The Franco-Dutch war 1672-1679 involved most of Europe. Worse was the war of the League of Augsburg 1689-1697 which included the devastation of Germany, the landing of James II in Ireland in 1690, a planned French invasion of England to restore him, campaigns led by William III in the Spanish Netherlands, and French invasions of Spain and Piedmont. The war was ended by the treaty of Rijswijk. That was not all. There were major wars in the east, of the Ottoman Empire against Austria, Poland and Russia from the 1660s to the 1690s. Vienna was under siege in 1683, but the Turks lost Hungary by the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699. Echard's works on Ireland and Flanders obviously capitalised on current interests. The complicated campaigns and diplomacy made understanding of current events difficult and so compendiums of geography were most useful for quick reference. Not least in need of such guides were newspapermen, or gazeteers. By tradition, the earliest true newspaper in England was the Oxford Gazette of 1655, but there were a host of them by the end of the century.

The obvious question which arises is, who were the major influences on Echard during his Cambridge years? The leading scholar in the University was Isaac Newton, professor of mathematics 1669-1701, with whom Echard did indeed have some connection. The professor of Greek during Echard's undergraduate days was Michael Payne (1685-1695). There was no chair of Latin until 1869. There were famous theologians, such as Humphrey Gower and Joseph Beaumont. The most influential classicists were the 'Cambridge Platonists', who sought inspiration in Plato to reconcile religion and reason. They were liberal and latitudinarian, which accords well enough with Echard's principles. The two leading members were Henry More (1614-1687) of Echard's own college, Christ's, and Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688), Master of Christ's 1654-1688, who died just before Echard came up.

It is, indeed, to Christ's that we must turn for the most immediate stimuli on the young Echard⁶. The then Master, John Covel, must have been one of the few interesting people in that institution. He had been chaplain to the Levant Company 1670-1677, and spent those years in the East (his diary is published by the Hakylut Society). He had also been chaplain to the Princess of Orange for four years. He is revealed as a

⁶ J. PEILE, *Christ's College*, London 1900, esp. p. 207ff.

man of many interests stemming from his travels, especially botany, and he was a scholar. His portrait shows a 'jolly, well-looking man'. Echard surely found him attractive. The rest of the college was less so. Its historian goes so far as to say that the tutors at this time «were rarely distinguished». The only exceptions were Daniel Duckfield (d. 1702), «a learned man and most successful tutor», and John Boldero, «remarkable for the number of his pupils». The Fellows waited out the time until they were granted a living, and then sent their sons up. It was also a very small community; for admissions declined from the mid-seventeenth century of some 36 students a year to fewer than twenty in the 1690s.

Echard was not to devote himself entirely to the world of letters. He was to have an ecclesiastical career. The precise details are difficult to follow in some accounts and dates are given contradictorily. He was ordained priest at Norwich by Bishop John Moore on 2 May 1696⁷. His first living was Welton le Wold, two miles west of Louth in Lincolnshire, which brought him the considerable sum for a young clergyman of £50 p.a. To this was added South Elkington, one mile southeast of Louth, with an additional £25 p.a.⁸. He thus lived, as most references stress, more than twenty years at Louth.

As well as these two livings, considerable preferment was given to Echard. On 24 April 1697 he was made Prebendary of Louth in Lincoln Cathedral⁹. Louth was «a great market Town where the Prebendary has, as I judge, the Tythes and Advowson» (i.e. patronage). It was rated in 1534 at £36 3s 4d¹⁰. This office Echard held until his death, for more

⁷ R. GOULDING, *op. cit.* (n. 3). John Moore (1646-1714) was chaplain to William and Mary, bishop of Norwich 1691-1707, then Ely. Politically a Whig, he was a well known bibliophile and very generous to scholars. He presided over the trial of Bentley. His library (6,000 vols.) was given to Cambridge by George I.

⁸ T. PEILE, *op. cit.* (n. 5), says «Beneficed in Lincoln at Welton, near Louth, and Elkington (5 August 1696)». The two livings are linked also, but without any date, in *DNB*, *Biographia Britannica* and W. HOOK, *op. cit.* (n. 3), but R. GOULDING gives the date for Elkington of 17 June 1709.

The fundamental source on Echard's two livings is *Speculum dioeceseos Lincolnensis (1705-1723)* (*Publications of the Lincoln Record Society*, 4), 1910, the data collected by the visitations of bishops Wake and Gibson.

Welton was attended by 17-20 families, and services were held once each Sunday. The bishops were much interested in catechisms: they were held «almost continually», while communion was 3-4 times a year. South Elkington was attended by 21-25 families. The same situation prevailed concerning catechisms and communion (p. 138, 45). The incomes are also given.

⁹ S. WILLIS, *Survey of the Cathedrals*, London 1730, vol. II p. 213.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

than thirty years, double the average tenure of fifteen years for the previous two centuries.

It was in connection with his prebend at Lincoln that Echard became chaplain to the bishop. Only one source specifies who this was: William Wake; his chaplain, however, was David Trimmell¹¹. Echard was chaplain to Bishop James Gardiner.

On 16 August 1712, he was then installed as Archdeacon of Stowe¹². This office brought him £25 17s 8d p.a. and was also held until his death.

A very lively impression of the existence of a priest in Lincolnshire in the late eighteenth century may be gained from the reports of the bishops. James Gardiner (1695-1704) and William Wake (1705-1715) document the prevailing disorder and neglect: prayers omitted, feasts neglected, churches in «more nastie condition than any cottager would keep his house»; consecration in the aisle of the church and communion served over the heads of those closer to it. Many clergy were guilty of intemperance. The wealthy clergy were notorious for their greed and exploitation of curates receiving only £20-30 p.a. There were no rural deans. Smaller parishes had services only on alternate Sundays. The lesser clergy were in poverty. The problems were, of course, general, and not peculiar to Lincolnshire. Under Queen Anne there were 450 livings in the country under £50 p.a. Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth 1695-1735, claimed that not one in twenty of his parishioners could say the Lord's Prayer. Under Wake's episcopacy, of 1312 benefices 572 had a stipend of less than £50 p.a., which led to the abuses of non-residence and plurality¹³. If Echard performed his duties conscientiously, his parishioners at Welton and Elkington (where he would have been able to give services each Sunday) had a broadly educated parson of wide interests, and among the better paid.

Shortly after his first appointment, Echard married Jane Potter, daughter of the Rev. Potter of Yorkshire, on 14 August 1697. That marriage was cut short by her death in August 1704.

Echard's writing continued unabated: an abridgement of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World* (1700); *A General Ecclesiastical History*

¹¹ R. GOULDING, *op. cit.* (n. 3), says Wake, but see N. SYKES, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Cambridge 1957, vol. I p. 240. That Echard was chaplain to Gardiner was kindly confirmed by Dr Nicholas Bennett, Cathedral Librarian.

¹² S. WILLIS, *op. cit.* (n. 9), vol. III p. 131.

¹³ *History of Lincolnshire* (*Victoria History of the Counties of England*), London 1906, vol. II p. 70f.; N. SYKES, *op. cit.* (n. 11), vol. I p. 200.

from the Nativity of our Blessed Saviour to the First Establishment of Christianity (1702); *The History of England from the First Entrance of Julius Caesar and the Romans to the End of the Reign of James I* (1707); *The Classical Geographical Dictionary* (1715); *The History of England*, vols. 2-3 (1718), bringing the story down to William and Mary; *Maxims and Discourses, Moral and Divine, taken from the Works of Ab. Tilotson and Methodiz'd and Connected* (1719); a preface to F. D'Orléans SJ, *History of the Revolution and the Establishment of England in the Year 1688* (1725).

During this period of ministry in Lincolnshire and such unflagging literary productivity, the aftermath of the Revolution of 1688 ensured that English political life continued to be most controversial, and no historian of his country such as Echard could be unaffected by it. James II died in 1701, William III the next year, whereupon his sister-in-law Anne succeeded (1702-1714). The Treaty of Union between England and Scotland was signed in 1707. The Peace of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). On the death of Anne, George I, great-grandson of James I, established the House of Hanover. The era of the Whigs began. A Jacobite rebellion in Scotland failed (1715-1716). Robert Walpole became the first Prime Minister in 1721 and held office for twenty years. The South Sea Bubble burst in 1720.

Nearly three years after the death of his first wife, Echard married for the second time, to Justina Wooley, daughter of a Lincolnshire gentleman, on 14 April 1707.

Testimony to Echard's reputation as a scholar was offered when in February 1718 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries¹⁴. A century later an Anglican clergyman, Mark Noble, wrote a two-volume collection entitled *Lives of the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries*¹⁵. Noble's characterisation is striking:

[Echard] was more a man of learning than genius. His translations of Terence and three of the comedies of Plautus are spiritless.

He had no great ability in politics, owning himself an historian and not a politician. His *History of England* is little known and less read; his notices at the end of each reign are most valuable. His *History of the Revolution* keeps a very quiet place upon the shelf of a library. Charles I was the idol of his idolatry before, William III after the Revolution.

¹⁴ This is not noted in any of the biographical references.

¹⁵ M. NOBLE, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

Noble admitted that, despite this temporising, Echard had a «moral worth»:

His reputation was in high estimation whilst living. Time has prostrated it as an historian and a translator, but allows his learning. His Roman History and his General Ecclesiastical History have not any more raised his literary fame than the preceding, but all of them will prove his indefatigable pursuit in the walks of literature.

The most popular of all his books was his *Gazeteer* and the *Newsman's Interpreter*, the origin of a most numerous spawn¹⁶.

Continuing to hold the Prebend and the Archdeaconate, in 1722 Echard was transferred to Suffolk. George I presented him with the livings of Rundlesham, Sudborne and Alford. This royal patronage was counterbalanced, however, by the fact that the last eight years of his life were spent «in a continual state of ill health»¹⁷.

Echard was going on a journey to Scarborough to take a cure, but by coincidence reached only Lincoln when he died on 16 August 1730. He was buried in St Mary Magdalen, but has no gravestone¹⁸. The date of his burial is given by various sources¹⁹ as 29 August, some thirteen days after his death. This looks odd. Another source²⁰ gives 19 August, which certainly seems more likely. It was summer!

There are several portraits of Echard. One is in the National Portrait Gallery; another was painted for Christ's College by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723), German by birth, principal painter to William III and knighted by him. He painted the portraits of no fewer than ten reigning sovereigns (including Louis XIV and Peter the Great) and everyone of importance in the later seventeenth — early eighteenth centuries. An engraving of the Kneller portrait serves as a frontispiece to the *History of England*.

*

* *

¹⁶ It is strange that the Society possesses only two of his works, the *History* and *Gazeteer*, and neither was given by him.

On Noble it is amusing to find the note in *DNB* (vol. XIV p. 527) that his writings are those of «an imperfectly educated, vulgar-minded man. His ignorance of English grammar and composition render his books hard to read and occasionally unintelligible, while the moral reflections with which they abound are puerile». Noble (1754-1827) was an Anglican priest, biographer of the civil war period, and FSA.

¹⁷ *Biographia Britannica* (n. 3).

¹⁸ R. GOULDING, *op. cit.* (n. 3), from Sloane MSS BM 4222, f. 72.

¹⁹ *DNB*; T. PEILE, *op. cit.* (n. 5); R. GOULDING, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

²⁰ *European Magazine* 49 (1806), p. 418, from BM manuscripts.



What manner of man was Laurence Echard? The answer to that question can most easily be ascertained from some of his most famous works.

In 1691 appeared

A most Compleat Compendium of Geography, General and Special; Describing all the Empires, Kingdoms and Dominions of the whole World, shewing their Bounds, Filiations, Dimensions, Ancient and Modern Names, History, Government, Religions, Languages, Commodities, Divisions, Subdivisions, Cities, Rivers, Mountains, Lakes, with their Archbishoprics and Universities in a more Plain and Easie Method more Compendious and (perhaps) more Useful than any of this bigness, To which are added General Rules for making a large Geography, very necessary for the right Understanding of the Transactions of these Times, Collected according to the most late Discoveries, and agreeing with the choicest and newest Maps!

Rarely has a slight book (only 168 pages) had a grander title. It was dedicated to Dr John Covel, Master of Christ College (*sic*)²¹.

In the preface, Echard explained that the work was originally designed for his own use and would not have been published had he not been encouraged by «our Mathematik Professor», Isaac Newton! On the other hand, he obviously expected criticism, and attempted to defuse it by stating that he had followed the best maps, and

if there be any Person whatsoever that shall find half as much profit or pleasure in the Reading of this book as I have in the Writing, I shall count it as a Reward much beyond the meanness of my deserts.

The pattern for Echard's publications is thus set: the large undertaking, even daunting, but with the highest support, and the overwhelming desire to be useful. He must have been a most industrious young man, and obviously attractive to those in high places. The public reacted to the *Compendium* by requiring eight editions by 1713. The originally private usefulness must have turned out to be highly profitable²².

In 1694 he published two volumes of classical translation which may have been closely associated with the almost contemporaneous Roman History. One was *Plautus' Comedies Amphitryon, Epidicus and Rudens*

²¹ On Covel, see above p. 280-281.

²² Thomas Hearne claimed in his *Remarks and Collections*, Oxford 1885, vol. I p. 297, under 20 October 1706, that «I am told by one who has had occasion to examine it Mr Eachard's little book of Geography is stolen from a certain French book which has been translated into English. The name of the Author I forget». What a convenient lapse of memory for that arch critic!

made English with critical remarks upon each play. This was dedicated to Sir Charles Sidley²³, and each play was followed by between sixteen and twenty-five pages of notes.

The preface explained that the work was designed to counteract the English prejudice, namely that they have in «Dramatick Poetry surpassed both the ancients and the moderns». The translation claimed much more than this: it corrected so many errors «by reason of corrupted copies, wrong points, false divisions of whole acts, as well as scenes, besides a greater number of knotty and obscure passages than in Terence». Echard was also thinking of those learning Latin, and he kept very close to the sense and words. Plautus, he explained, was often «dangerously verbose»; for his part, Echard was «scrupulously nice», especially in translating puns, and he offered an example of which he was obviously proud from the prologue to the *Amphitryon*:

I desire nothing but what's reasonable and feasible; for 't is a reasonable god requires Reason from a Reasonable People; but to require Roguery from Reasonable People, is base; and to expect Reason from Rascals is nonsense; since such People neither know Reason nor observe it.

The statement often quoted against him that «he dare not pretend to say that this translation equals the Original» should not mislead: he meant only that the English could not fully reproduce the Latin. Scenes and acts were divided according to the «true Rules of the Stage», which is very valuable evidence for some of the young Echard's accomplishments. He had presumably partaken fully of the English mania for drama following the Restoration, making up for the dearth during the Commonwealth. The notes were very indebted to Mme Dacier («the best notes I ever met with»). The three plays were chosen for their modesty; «for above all Things I would by no means give the least Encouragement to Lewdness or Obscenity». It would, then, have been a blow to him that the famous critic Thomas Cooke, foe of Pope and Swift, who thus earned for himself a place in the *Dunciad*, criticised the Plautus as «very injudicious and grossly low and vulgar». Cooke was himself a

²³ Sir John Sidley (more usually misspelled Sedley), Restoration playwright, MP. In July 1663 fined £500 for a combination of obscenity, blasphemy and lese-majesty (for the incredible details of which see Pepys's *Diary* under 1 July 1663). His daughter was James II's favourite mistress; in response to the seduction he declared that he hated ingratitude and as the king had made his daughter a duchess, he would do his best to make the king's daughter a queen. Did Echard know all the details of this man's career?

translator of Hesiod and Terence. A second edition of Echard's translation appeared as late as 1716.

This was nothing to the success of *Terence's Comedies made English with his Life and some Remarks at the end by Several Hands* (1694). Here a long preface compared Plautus and Terence, discussing the latter's merits and faults, and then compared Roman dramatists to those writing for the seventeenth-century English stage, indulging in many criticisms of the latter, especially the failure to observe the classical unities. Here again is proof of Echard's intimate knowledge of the contemporary English stage.

The translation again had far from modest aims. It was to help «our Dramatick poets», to make all good books available in English, to avoid being outdone by the French — and undertaken because no one else would do it! Echard was obviously very pleased with the results (even the English would be useful to schoolboys) and the notes, which even those who could read the Latin for themselves might consult. «'Tis not to be expected that we should wholly reach the Air of the Original», he again admitted, but great care had been taken with particular words and the general sense. The prologues were omitted: they related only to «the private squabbles between the Author and the Poets of his time».

Again the public approved. A ninth edition appeared by 1741, but it was the third in 1705 which revealed the dominant hand among the «several»: «by Mr Laurence Echard and others»²⁴. Mark Noble in 1818 declared the translations of Plautus and Terence to be «spiritless», and in his new edition of John Granger's *Biographical History of England* in 1806, he went further: «he had not sufficient genius to enable him to feel the fire of the ancients, and in consequence gave the works of Terence a buffoonery not their own»²⁵. The success of the editions contradicts that, and indeed the Terence was reprinted as recently as 1963, edited by Robert Graves, who declared:

A revival of Terence in English must, I believe, be based on the translation made in 1689 (*sic*), with fascinating vigour, by a young Cambridge student Laurence Echard (1670-1730) — later Dr Echard, Prebendary of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Stow, and author of a well known History of England²⁶.

²⁴ It was these volumes of translation which earned Echard a place in Giles JACOB, *The Poetical Register*, London 1723, vol. I p. 287.

²⁵ GRANGER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), vol. III p. 106.

²⁶ *The Comedies of Terence, Echard's translation*, edited with a foreword by R. Graves (*La Belle Sauvage Library*), London 1963, p. ix.

Graves was misled by the title Dr given to Echard wrongly on the third edition. It was an honour which he probably deserved, but it eluded him.

These translations appeared during a most heated debate on the virtues of the contemporary English theatre and much criticism of the immorality of the Restoration productions, especially in comedy, which «must have been written by blackguards for blackguards»²⁷.

A return to matters geographical produced one of Echard's most successful books in 1695:

The gazeteer's or newsman's Interpreter, being a geographical index of all the Considerable Cities, Patriarchships, Bishopricks, Universities, Dukedoms, Earldoms, and such like, Imperial and Hance Towns, Ports, Forts, Castles etc. in Europe, shewing in what Kingdoms, Provinces and Countries they are; to what Prince they are now subject; their Distances (in English Miles) from several other Places of Note; with their Longitude and Latitude according to the best and approved maps.

Of special Use for the true Understanding of all Modern Histories of Europe as well as the Present Affairs; and for the Conveniency of Cheapness and Pocket Carriage, Explained by Abbreviations and Figures!

The author was Laurence Echard AB of Christ's College, but this is, in fact, noted as the third edition. The little book (12^{mo}) is not paginated (!) but consists of 230 pages. The preface explained that it was designed not only for the «true Understanding of all Modern Histories», but also «partly designed for such as frequent Coffee Houses», that is, newspaper readers. A «very eminent Person», whom this time Echard declined to name, had suggested the title. The work contained upwards of three thousand entries, excluding England and Ireland, which were already covered by other works of Echard. One can only admit that the stated aims were fulfilled: places are located by country, province, nearby mountains and rivers, distances from other places, and latitude and longitude.

In short all things are so well ordered, and Subject and Design so excellent, that I could not have possibly invented anything so small, of more general use for the Publick than this, or that is more probable to please, not that I deserve one word of commendation, for any Person that had a small skill in Geography might have done it as well as I, with the same Pains.

²⁷ L. STEPHEN, *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1927, p. 55f. See esp. J. COLLIER, *A Short View of the Immortality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, 1698.

Again modesty at his own cleverness is hardly in short supply. In conclusion Echard hoped that the book would be «as necessary many years hence as now». Indeed it was. It reached some seventeen editions by 1751, and was translated into French, Italian, Spanish and Polish.

A work closely connected with the history of the Roman Republic appeared in 1702:

A General Ecclesiastical History from the Nativity of our Blessed* Saviour* to the First Establishment of Christianity* by Humane Laws under the Emperor Constantine* the Great* containing the Space of about 313 Years with so much of the Jewish* and Roman* History as is necessary and Convenient to illustrate the work.*

To which is added a Large Chronological Table* of all the Roman and Ecclesiastical Affairs included in the same Period of Time.*

The asterisked words appeared in red, making a most attractive title page, and the author was given as L. Echard, AM, Prebendary of Lincoln and Chaplain to the Rt. Rev. James, Lord Bishop of that Diocese.

Echard's energy is remarkable. The volume is a folio of 472 pages, as well as tables, on which he admitted that he had had the assistance of «one of the greatest chronologers now living», obviously Newton. The work was dedicated to Queen Anne as «the Protector and Nursing Mother (!) of the noblest Branch of that Church here treated and described», and because of the «freeing of Europe and the Restoration of Peace». The peace is of course the Treaty of Rijswijk of 1697 which forced France to return almost all conquests of the previous twenty years and which recognised William.

Yet again an unnamed and presumably highly placed patron is mentioned. The preface reveals that Echard was urged to undertake the work seven years before by a «very ingenious Man in the University» when he was already working on his Roman History. Something of his working method is also revealed: he first thought to construct a «regular history» out of William Cave's *Lives of the Apostles* (i.e. *Apostolici*, 1677) and Louis Dupin's Ecclesiastical writers (i.e. *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques*, 60 volumes, 1686-1719), which found itself on the Index in 1757! Dupin was a Gallican who favoured reunion of the Roman and Anglican churches. These works had, however, in Echard's opinion, many shortcomings so that he had to turn to the original sources, the Testaments and Roman and Jewish history. He was far from libraries and «all assistants», with many other duties and interruptions,

and «private Troubles and Misfortunes». Perhaps his first wife, who was to die in 1704, was already ill. He nevertheless made several long journeys to consult the learned, and he received «great Light and Assistance» from several bishops.

The work is divided into three books: 1. The life of Jesus (p. 1-145), 2. The Acts of the Apostles (p. 146-287), 3. The early Christians (p. 288-472). Echard listed the authorities he had consulted. They were everything on which he could lay his hands, «borrowing without Fear or Scruple»; for «in matters of Plagiarism, I shall always study my Reader's profit before my own Reputation». This was an extraordinary disclaimer, or an attempt to spike his critics' guns.

His views on major characters are equally interesting and revealing. He accepted all of Nero's excesses, which he used to lard his text. The persecution of the Christians he extended to «most if not all» the provinces, but his account of the deaths of Peter and Paul is restrained. Similarly in the case of Marcus Aurelius he argued that there had been a general persecution because of the emperor's connection with the philosophers and accompanying natural disasters and wars (!), despite the statements of Tertullian and the silence of Lactantius. On the other hand, he praised Marcus' administration. He accepted, of course, the 'rain miracle' and dwelt long on the martyrdoms at Lyons. On the identity of the first Christian emperor, Echard admitted the controversy over Philip:

We are inclined to think him a Christian, but withal acknowledge him to have been an immoral and wicked man, weak and imperfect in his Religion, if not heretical in his Principles²⁸.

He accepted Lactantius' version that Diocletian was forced to resign by Galerius. On the crucial events of 312, he followed Eusebios' story of the cross in the sky, which Constantine could not then understand until instructed in dreams.

The ecclesiastical history was therefore an uncritical and pietistic work, a poor contrast to the monumental production of his contemporary, Sebastien le Nain de Tillemont. Despite all that, it reached a seventh edition in 1729, because as it was described by Humphrey Prideaux, the evangelical Dean of Norwich, it was «the best of its kind in the English tongue»²⁹.

²⁸ *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 400.

²⁹ *The Old and the New Testaments connected in the History of the Jews*, 1716-1718, vol. II p. 658.

Another reference work appeared under Echard's name in 1715:

The Classical Dictionary containing 1. all the ancient and modern Names of all the Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Mountains, Capes, Islands, Peninsulas, Lakes, Seas, Gulfs, Streights and Rivers in Europe, Asia and Africa.

2. An Historical and Geographical Account of the most Remarkable Places mention'd by the Classicks, Greek and Roman.

Fitted for the Use of Schools, and very Necessary for a right Understanding of the Best Authors.

Revised, with a Recommendatory Preface, by L. Echard, AM, Author of the Gazetteer.

This was indeed a companion to the 1695 gazeteer and once again «some Worthy Person» had asked Echard to undertake it. His leisure did not, however, permit this, so he entrusted it to «an able hand». There are thus two anonymous figures concerned with this work. It was intended to list all places which had reference to important events, taking great care with the form of their names («those most received») both ancient and modern.

Most entries consisted of about six lines. Athens, for example:

Once the most famous Republick in the World, now a small Duchy in Greece. The city now called Setines is about a league from the Gulf of Egina; 'twas built Anno Mundi 2496. There are still about 10,000 Souls in it, 'tis 44 m. E. of Corinth [cf. the article on Corinth: 50 m. from Athens!] and 50 m. S. of Thebes.

or Miletus, Milet:

An ancient and considerable City of Ionia in Asia Minor on the coast of the Mediterranean, S. of the Mouth of the R. Meander, famous for being the birthplace of Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Hecataeus, Pittacus and Aeschynes. The inhabitants were first called Leligei.

One of the shortest entries is Rome:

The Capital City of Italy, not a tenth Part so big as it was in the time of the Roman Empire.

This work had no later editions.

The historical work for which Echard was, and is, best known was his *History of England*, which represents the first attempt to write one from ancient to modern times by a single author. The story from Julius Caesar to James I appeared in 1707, dedicated to the Duke of Ormonde³⁰;

³⁰ James Butler (1665-1745), second duke of Ormonde. He succeeded his grandfather as second duke and as Chancellor of Oxford in 1688; Lord High Constable at the coro-

volumes 2-3 were published in 1718 and brought the history to the Revolution of 1688, and they were dedicated to George I. A 'third edition' of the three volumes together was produced in 1720.

For an exact notion of Echard's achievement some account of English historiography is essential³¹. In his *English Historical Library* (1696), William Nicolson, archdeacon and later Bishop of Carlisle, called for a History of England, but he thought it beyond the powers of one author. What was needed, he suggested, was a «Clubb of Men of Parts and Learning» — some masters of classical languages, others of modern ones, some geographers, lawyers, courtiers and soldiers. William Temple (1628-1699), a leading diplomat under Charles II, who brought about the Triple Alliance of 1668 and the marriage of William and Mary, and was much consulted by William although not in office, in his *Introduction to the History of England* (1695), described the period from Roman Britain to 1066. He hoped that his little book might induce someone else to continue the story. He devoted most of the book to William the Conqueror and gave a Whiggish account of his observance of ancient English law. Jonathon Swift, a friend of Temple, wrote a continuation to Henry II. James Tyrrell (1642-1718) then attempted a *General History of England* in 3 volumes (1696-1704), but it reached only to Richard II. Tyrrell was educated at Queen's College, Oxford and was a lawyer. He had fallen out with James II and was a close friend of Locke³².

Temple's scheme was, however, adopted by the bookseller John Dunton, who proposed to form a history by linking Temple's account with the best already written on the later periods. The result was *The Compleat History of England* in 3 volumes (1706), made up of Milton's account as far as the conquest, Samuel Daniel to Edward III, Thomas More on Richard III, Francis Bacon's Henry VII, Edward Herbert for Henry VIII, John Hayward on Edward VI, Camden's Elizabeth, and Arthur Wilson for James I. The third volume was the work of White

nation of William and Mary, head of the king's Life Guards in the Irish campaign; commander of land forces against Cadiz 1702; governor of Ireland 1703-1707, 1710-1712; commander in Flanders, but forbidden to take action, 1712; one of the most important people in the state in the last part of Anne's reign; dismissed by George I, impeached 1715; joined Bolingbroke in exile; sailed into Plymouth in 1715, then lived in Spain and France.

³¹ See esp. J. LEVINE, *The Battle of the Books*, Cornell 1991, p. 291f.; *Humanism and Liberty*, Cornell 1987, p. 164f.

³² See J. GOUGH, *James Tyrrell, Whig Historian*, *Hist. Journ.* 19 (1975), p. 581-610.

Kennett (1660-1728), who wrote from Charles I to William III³³. He relied mostly on printed sources; the result was «an encyclopaedic account of events», but he was unskilled in describing causation or motive. The account was anonymous, because «it is impossible to please or to be thought impartial» (an interesting piece of logic); Kennett was especially critical of the Stuarts and the work was described as late as 1740 by Roger North as «a cloaca of libels». Kennett was a notorious Whig, and bishop of Peterborough. This 'complete history' is not to be confused with Robert Brady's *Complete History of England* (1680), a Tory tract which came down only to Henry III. Thus the tortured history of Echard's predecessors.

In the preface to the first volume in 1707 he indulged in his usual explanations. He was induced, as ever, to undertake the work by «several considerable Persons» because anyone desiring to know about English history was required to «read over a Library rather than a single History». His long-standing wish to be always useful is again apparent. He admitted that the «Perusal of the monkish writers» was very disagreeable and Holinshed (the famous Elizabethan chronicler) and Speed³⁴ were «tedious and voluminous». In the huge list of modern authorities, prominent were William Howell (d. 1683, chancellor of Lincoln, author of *Medulla Historiae Anglicanae*, 1678), the Tory Brady and the Whig Tyrrell. The work had been disturbed by «endless Interruptions and many real Indispositions», presumably his parish duties. His standards were, however, of the highest: «Truth and Fidelity were my principal Aims as Qualifications most necessary; so were likewise Perspicacity and Elevation, Diversion and Instruction». An historian was not merely a journalist, telling a story, but he had to instruct and divert, «not so much to fill his (the reader's) Head as to enlarge his Mind». A «complete history» was the «greatest of all Human Undertakings». Echard saw history as a journey, divided into 'stages' for the traveller-reader.

The crucial question, however, as Echard was to find to his cost, was the historian's personal stand. He did attempt at least to confront the question. Some had claimed that impartiality was impossible. He replied that the historian should be able to «give Sentence according to his Conscience and Judgement, 'tho contrary to his Desires and Inclinations»

³³ G. BENNETT, *White Kennett 1660-1728, Bishop of Peterborough*, London 1957, p. 168f.

³⁴ John Speed (d. 1629), protege of Camden, author of *History of Great Britain*, 1621.

(which is not the least apt description of a sound method). «An historian ought never to be of a Party, but in one Respect, that is, he ought always to be of the same side with Truth». Echard declared that he was such a man. He stigmatised ambition, treachery and bloodthirstiness — because Providence usually punished them!

As for style, he wished the form to be proportionate, the method clear, the 'colourings' strong and affecting and the language not «mean, flat and insipid».

As might have been expected, the reaction was severe. The Nonconformists were outraged; he was accused of approving the Revolution while disapproving of its principles; he had relied on 'worthless' authorities; he indulged the Stuarts; he was guilty of 'gross injustice' to many. The most famous page of the whole work was the description of Cromwell's interview with the Devil on 3 September 1651, before the battle of Worcester and exactly seven years before his death, on which he then made the following extraordinary pronouncement:

How far Lindsey is to be believed, and how far the story is to be pronounced credible is left to the Reader's faith and judgement, and not to any determination of our own³⁵.

In the preface to the second volume, Echard seems to have anticipated criticism:

Whatever Faults I have committed, and whatever Qualifications I have wanted in the Writing of this History, I never was destitute of Honesty and Courage, and have writ boldly... Impartiality has always been my great Aim.

One of the most remarkable documents in modern historiography, however, is the apology of some thirty-nine pages which Echard attached to the third volume in 1720. He stated that the first volume had stood the test of ten years. Cromwell's 'Infernal Commerce' was reconsidered even more provocatively: «as it is not worth the Vindicating, so I do not think

³⁵ *History*, 1718 ed., vol. II p. 713. This extract is the only one of Echard included in *Chambers Encyclopaedia of English Literature*, London 1901, vol. II p. 210.

Colonel Lindsey was «an intimate friend» of Cromwell, first captain of his regiment, but deserted in the battle. The story was related to Rev. Thorowgood, with whom Lindsey took refuge, and taken down by his twelve years old son. Chr. HIBBERT, *God's Englishman*, London 1970, makes no reference to this story, but calls Echard's portrait of Cromwell that of an «honest patriot» (p. 257).

Compare Echard's acceptance of the omen of the bird dropping on Bernini's bust of Charles II.

it worth the Expunging»! Perhaps Cromwell had deceived Lindsey, having met only a man in the wood. It was the third volume which aroused most objections. On the Popish Plot, Echard had consulted «several living and dead Evidences»; in his view the Catholics deserved the Disabling Act. The Revolution was an «inestimable Deliverance», revealing the Hand of Providence. Echard was convinced that his own account was «more complete and regular» than any previous. He was forced to admit, however, that he lived at too great a distance from libraries and learned men and was inexperienced. He was convinced of the existence of Providence, although it bore heavily on parties and families. As for his partiality, he was sanguine: «Have I spared my own master, Sir W. Raleigh? Have I spared Charles I or the Duke of Buckingham? Or the Earl of Strafford or the Marquis of Montrose?» He concluded:

'Tho I value Reputation and a good Name as much as any Mortal, yet I have so little Regard to Fame or Applause, but so much Love for the Publick, that I heartily desire that not only my History of England, but all my other Books, may have their Memory utterly extinguish'd by better and more useful wrot (*sic*) upon the same subjects.

Once again Echard had connections at the highest level. Permission to dedicate the second and third volumes to the King was obtained by Bishop William Wake, who in 1716 was translated from Lincoln to Canterbury, and by the famous essayist Joseph Addison. The King gave Echard £300³⁶.

The Revolution in 1688 produced enormous changes in literary patronage and the position of the writer in England, especially by the early eighteenth century. Court patronage was replaced by political patronage. The writer's position in society is said to have improved enormously, and the prizes open to supporters of one party or another were glittering. Other notable beneficiaries were Colley Cibber, given £200 for his *Non-Juror*, and Richard Steele, who received £500 for his *Conscious Lovers*³⁷.

³⁶ Hearne's *Diary*, 27 April 1718 (*The Remains of Thos. Hearne*, ed. J. Buchanan-Brown, 1966, p. 194). See L. AIKIN, *Life of Addison*, London 1843, vol. II p. 211, for the letter of Wake to Addison of December 1717, showing that these two had agreed that Echard should present his work to the king. They had approached Charles Spencer, third earl of Sunderland, the bibliophile and Whig politician. In N. SYKES, *William Wake*, Cambridge 1957, vol. II p. 93-94, Echard appears only as an electoral agent in 1710, and Addison not at all.

³⁷ A. BELJAME, *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1948, esp. p. 317ff.

Echard's history was not only the first by a single author. It was also the standard one until the translation of that of Rapin appeared (1725-1738)³⁸, which in turn was replaced by Hume (1754-1761), in turn to give way to that of Macaulay. The last two are still in print.

Echard's work was savaged by contemporaries and long by later critics. The major attack came from the Presbyterian minister Dr Edmund Calamy³⁹. He especially resented Echard's prejudices against the Puritans, and his failure to take seriously the people's fear of Charles I's 'arbitrary power'. His motives were in part personal as well, since Echard had branded his grandfather «a Promoter of Rebellion and an Incendiary»! Another strong critic was John Oldmixon, a Whig historian very critical of the Stuarts, and author of a *History of England* (1724). He accused Echard of partiality, misrepresentation, falsehood, inconsistency and contradiction⁴⁰. Even more scathing, if possible, was the Jacobite Thomas Hearne, a keeper at the Bodleian Library, who lost his post as a non-juror. When he heard that the King had given Echard £300 in April 1718, he declared:

I suppose 'tis a most roguish, Whiggish Thing, such as what Kennett writes. I have not read it. Such writers ought to be laid aside... Indeed Echard hath a good pen, but he does not look into, much less follow, Original Authors⁴¹.

³⁸ Paul DE RAPIN, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, 8 vols., The Hague 1724, down to Charles I; continued by David DURAND to 1688, The Hague 1734; it was translated into English by Nicolas TINDAL, 15 vols., London 1725-1731, who in turn continued the history down to 1727.

³⁹ The only appearance of Echard in the monumental 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1910, is an allusion under Calamy (vol. IV p. 967).

The title of Calamy's work was *A Letter to Archdeacon Echard upon the Occasion of his History of England, wherein the True Principles of the Revolution are defended, the Whigs and Dissenters vindicated... and a Number of Mistakes rectify'd*, 1718.

Dr Edmund Calamy (1671-1732), a Nonconformist divine, studied at Utrecht and Oxford, and was given doctorates of divinity by Edinburgh and other Scottish universities. He published innumerable sermons and biographies.

⁴⁰ John Oldmixon (1673-1742) published poems, operas, plays, but is best known as a Whig historian, very critical of Clarendon and the Stuarts. The full title of his work was *The Critical History of England, Ecclesiastical and Civil, wherein the Errors of the Monkish Writers, and others before the Reformation, are exposed and corrected. As are also the Deficiency and Partiality of Later Historians. And Particular Notice is taken of the History of the Grand Rebellion and Mr Echard's History of England. To which are added Remarks on some Objections made to Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times*, London 1724.

On the other hand, Echard had his defenders in people such as Dr Zachary Grey (against Calamy) and Dr John Colbach, professor of philosophy at Cambridge (over the marriage of Charles II and Catherine).

⁴¹ 27 April 1718 (ed. J. Buchanan-Brown [n. 36], p. 194).

By June 1729, however, Hearne obviously *was* reading:

'Tis but a slight performance ('tho there be some remarkable Things in it as to later times), as all Mr Echard's things are, being done chiefly to please Novices, and not adapted to such as search deeply into our Histories and Antiquities. The Author hath always made use of common printed Books, and not taken care to make himself acquainted with our old MSS and records⁴².

Finally in February 1734 Hearne was derisively dismissive:

it be vile enough, showing that Echard did it to get preferment, and to ingratiate himself.

Hearne showed from Echard's own text the «villainies» used to James II: he is said to have abdicated, but had been driven out of his kingdom by force. Hearne delighted also in detecting inaccuracies in chronology: Friday was the second, not the third, of November 1688, and the Prince of Orange landed on Sunday the fourth, his birthday, although the official anniversary was declared to be the fifth, to coincide with Gunpowder Treason Day, «for fear it should be forgot»⁴³.

The silver poet Matthew Green (d. 1737) even wrote an epigram on Echard's characterisation: «Laurence

... well dressed figures does display:
His characters are all in flesh,
Their hands are fair, their faces fresh,
And from his sweetening art derive
A better scent than when alive⁴⁴.

In his famous letters on the writing of history, Bolingbroke complained in 1735 (letter 6) that the English had to «yield the palm» in historiography to the Italians, French and even Germans. The only two works which, good Tory that he was, he could praise were Bacon on Henry II and Clarendon. «We have no general history to be compared with some of other countries».

Partiality was precisely what Horace Walpole found in Echard. In his *Memoirs of George II*, he reflected on the fate of historians who were candid in assessing leading figures:

⁴² 3 June 1721 (ed. J. Buchanan-Brown [n. 36], p. 236).

⁴³ 19 February 1734 (ed. J. Buchanan-Brown [n. 36], p. 411f.).

⁴⁴ First published in DODSLEY, *A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, London 1748. Green died in 1737.

... I examined the candid authors. Two of our own, who deal wonderfully in panegyrics, Clarendon and Echard, I find to have dispensed invectives with a liberal hand on men of parties opposite to their own — does then the province of praise and censure depend on the felicity of choosing one's party?⁴⁵

Echard may have objected to the attack on his partiality, but surely would have been delighted to be compared with Clarendon, whatever their political differences.

His most eminent successor in the eighteenth century does not seem to have mentioned him⁴⁶. Most modern discussions of Hume then follow suit. An exception is Victor Wexler, who stresses the traces in Hume of the very predecessors whom he was anxious to discredit. In Echard's case, Wexler points to the fairness of his assessment of the freedom of the people under the early Stuarts. «There are some historians from whom Hume may have learned more than he cared to admit»⁴⁷.

In 1806, it was asked, «as an historian, who reads him»⁴⁸? And in the only monograph devoted to him, Richard Goulding stated that Echard was «manifestly unfair to those who were not members of the Church of England». For him, Puritanism was «a supercilious Imitation of a Sanctity and Purity then strangely growing into Fashion». Dissenters were simply provokers of disorder. Goulding noted that Bunyan and Fox were not even mentioned⁴⁹.

In a survey of Hume's predecessors the noted archivist and historian Francis Palgrave listed Robert Brady, James Tyrrell, Echard, the Tory William Guthrie, the French Huguenot and Republican René Rapin, the monarchist Thomas Salmon and the Jacobite Thomas Carte. Of Echard he stated that he had

the clear conviction that he was called to the task by a sense of duty as a divine. Echard wanted a church *and* state history, a history which might teach Englishmen to respect their national constitution as well as their national religion, without urging on one against the other; he

⁴⁵ H. WALPOLE, *Memoirs and Portraits*, London 1963, p. 38.

⁴⁶ D. HUME, *History of England*, 1786 ed. (the last corrected by the author).

⁴⁷ V. WEXLER, *David Hume and his History of England*, Philadelphia 1979, p. 18f. It is a great shame that in a book as distinguished as D. FORBES, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*, Cambridge 1975, which has a whole section devoted to «philosophical history», Echard earns only five allusions, although his *History* is listed as one of Forbes' extensively used sources.

⁴⁸ GRANGER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), vol. III p. 107.

⁴⁹ R. GOULDING, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

therefore wrote as a professed teacher, influenced by the doctrines which it was his calling openly to propagate and confirm. Echard's principle, however he may have carried it through, was the right one...

The first volume was «the least important», while the second and third revealed him as «a writer of intrinsic worth», because he collected the printed sources, not only from standard historical ones but also from the miscellanea such as pamphlets and trials, as well as manuscripts and oral sources.

Palgrave's final verdict was as complimentary as Echard could have wished:

It is a grave, magisterial, sober, sensible book in Oxford binding. His narration is deficient in talent and liveliness, but want of elegance and spirit is compensated by the business-like clearness of his style and the excellent arrangement of his matter.

His critics were characterised as the «scurrilous» Oldmixon, and the «miserable Freethinker» Middleton⁵⁰!

Thomas Babington Macaulay certainly mentioned Echard frequently in his history, although rarely with any note⁵¹.

Where the Victorian Palgrave found Echard deficient in 'liveliness', a more recent evaluation by a literary critic, Bonamy Dobree, gives him credit precisely in this matter. Echard and Oldmixon

alone enter the realms of literature; for though many others ordered their material as well as did these, only these two endue their work with enough vital imagination to enable the reader to participate in the action and experience some tremor of the emotions.

The style might be called 'Clarendonian', «buoyant as well as dignified», combining documents and oral tradition. Echard could be «a trifle long-winded», but he was never pompous⁵².

⁵⁰ F. PALGRAVE, *Hume and his Influence on History*, *QR* 73 (1843-44), p. 536-592, at p. 543. Francis Palgrave (1788-1861) was deputy keeper of Her Majesty's Records from 1838, and was author of *History of England (Anglo-Saxon)*, 1831, and *The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, 1832.

⁵¹ Macaulay (in the 1855 edition, London, 3 vols.) cites Echard as authority for the coronation of James II (vol. I p. 473); on Ferguson (p. 529); Monmouth (p. 582, 607, 613); Jeffreys (p. 641), all along with other sources; but cites him for the test on Lord Lichfield's Regiment, «told to us by three writers who could well remember that time, Kennett, Echard and Oldmixon» (vol. II p. 421); alone for the despatch from Abbeville to James II and its effects (p. 458); with others for the service for William at Exeter (p. 488), Echard alone for the nobles coming over to William (p. 504), with others for the army coming over (p. 550), problems of control (p. 562); and is critical of him over the death of Jeffreys (vol. III p. 403).

⁵² B. DOBREE, *English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 1959, p. 383.

It is more recent scholarship which has similarly rehabilitated or assessed more kindly Echard's work from an historiographical point of view. David Douglas linked Echard to Tyrrell in that they «never subordinated propaganda to enquiry». He admitted, however, that although Echard attacked Brady, he could never compete with his opponent's mastery of mediaeval sources. In sum,

in view of the copious citations from original authorities, Echard's history approached far more nearly to the standards of historical discussion than its predecessors in the same field... The histories of Tyrrell and Echard were, in fact, remarkable books of their kind⁵³.

They brought to the general reader influences from the works of great scholars on whom their authors relied.

After all this, one can only be amazed that there has been a debate among those who have noticed Echard on the matter of his political affiliations. Thomas Hearne was in no doubt, as we have seen. Furthermore, Echard's interpretations agreed almost entirely with those of his notoriously Whig predecessor, White Kennett. And the patronage of the King would hardly have been accorded to a Tory work, and Echard's was especially supported by the Whig Churchman, Bishop Wake.

Did Adolphus Ward imply Whig preferences when he said that Echard let James II «fall gently» because of his daughters?⁵⁴ David Douglas was also in no doubt, referring to the «standard Whig histories of Tyrrell and Echard»⁵⁵, and the latter's attacks on the Tory Brady.

Others take Echard to be a Tory. That has been a more recent view. Dobree seemed to be wavering when he referred to the churchmen (Wake, Gibson, Kennett and Echard) who,

while clinging to the tradition to an extent that might be called Tory, are nevertheless at one with the Whigs so far as the reign of James II is concerned, and together are content with the Act of Settlement.

He clarified his assessment of Echard a little later: «while being a good Tory he is also a good Churchman»⁵⁶. John Gunn also vacillates: «For those who chose to avoid a frontal assault on Revolution principles, there was the subtler art of writing history». He called Echard «a moderate Churchman», who

⁵³ D. DOUGLAS, *English Scholars 1660-1730*, London 1951, p. 134-135.

⁵⁴ A. WARD, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. IX, 1912, p. 235.

⁵⁵ D. DOUGLAS, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 16.

⁵⁶ B. DOBREE, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 378; cf. p. 385.

was sufficiently acceptable in his political opinions to benefit from the patronage of George I. He did, however, appear to come down on the Tory side of doctrines about resistance and obedience which Echard defended in the name of reason of state. At the same time he allowed how difficult it was to support any general formula without qualification.

Perhaps most significant, Echard was especially attacked by Roger Acherley, a «loyal Whig», as «unsound on the question of the Revolution»⁵⁷. In turn, Richardson saw Echard as «reinforcing» Tory historiography, in which the outstanding forerunner was, of course, Clarendon⁵⁸.

There has long been a simpler solution: political opportunism.

His politics floated with the day he wrote of: before the Revolution Charles I was his idol; afterwards William III claimed his admiration⁵⁹.

The most exhaustive analysis of this question is by Deborah Stephen, whose answer is that in the first volume, from Caesar to James I, Echard was more Whig (the 'ancient constitution' approach)⁶⁰ but in the later volumes he adopted the more Tory line that the boundaries between king and parliament were not clearly defined. He was perhaps influenced by both Brady and Tyrrell. Even so, his view of Charles I, contrary to some, was far from enthusiastic. And the Revolution of 1688 was linked to the church to which Echard belonged, in both its direction and benefit. Echard was, then, a Whig historian⁶¹.

*

* *

The consideration of some of the most famous and popular of Echard's many publications has allowed us to gain a solid impression of his abilities and methods, as a preparation finally for considering his other historical innovation, the first history of the Roman Republic.

⁵⁷ J. GUNN, *Beyond Liberty and Property*, Montreal 1983, p. 145, 160. Roger Acherley (1660-1740) was a lawyer and Hanoverian, author of *The Britannic Constitution*, London 1727.

⁵⁸ R. RICHARDSON, *The Debate on the English Revolution*, London 1977, p. 36.

⁵⁹ GRANGER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), vol. III p. 107.

⁶⁰ See J. POCOCK, *The Ancient Constitution and Feudal Law*, Cambridge 1957.

⁶¹ D. STEPHEN, *Laurence Echard — Whig Historian*, *Hist. Journ.* 32 (1969), p. 843-866.

His outstanding characteristics are clear. First and foremost was his industry. He must have spent most of his time from when he was a student in writing. Whether this had any dramatic effect on his fulfilment of his pastoral duties one can only surmise; at least his sermons when he gave them should have been interesting. His own concerns were most wide-ranging, and included geography on a world scale, and drama ancient and modern, but his dominating passion, we may assert, was history. His stated and implied audiences were also of the widest: 'novices' are often mentioned, but also those able to consult sources in the original foreign languages. His major historical works were a synthesis of existing 'libraries'. Above all, Echard had a passion to be useful.

His self-confidence from the earliest days was abundant. He apparently had good reason to be confident, unless he kept his patrons and supporters anonymous because they were fictitious. They were described variously as «eminent», «worthy», «considerable» and «ingenious». Newton at least we can identify. In later life this confidence somewhat abated in the face of «troubles and misfortunes» and «interruptions and indispositions», but this was not true of the Cambridge years, nor did the later lamented distance from libraries apply then.

Echard knew how to win the powerful — by dedications. The recipients ranged from the master of his own college, John Covel, to leading dramatists such as Sir Charles Sidley, to the Duke of Ormonde, and finally even to Queen Anne and King George I. The first three were all figures who made peace with the Revolution, although Ormonde was to rebel in 1715.

Echard's own estimation of his qualities as a mature historian was not low: he was devoted to the truth, perspicacious, and elevated in style, providing both instruction and diversion. He strongly upheld the pedagogical mission of history. He believed firmly in the possibility of being impartial, that is, giving judgement contrary to one's own inclination. All such high idealism tends to be undone, however, by that one notorious page where he incontrovertibly, for all his later sophistry, gave credence to a compact between Cromwell and the Devil. He also unabashedly believed in Providence in history, which has always caused historians more problems than it solves, because everyone assumes that Providence is on his or her side. In Echard's case that was the Anglican Church.

His methods, in fact, given his enormous literary productivity, could hardly have been based on painstaking research on original sources, as

that assiduous scholar Hearne pointed out better than anyone else. Echard admitted his derivative methods in his description of his first proposals for his ecclesiastical history. In conclusion, however, we must remember how very differently he has been judged at different periods, by both historical and literary critics.

The *Roman History from the Building of the City to the Perfect Settlement of the Empire by Caesar Augustus* appeared in 1695 — despite the best attempts in some quarters to confuse the date⁶². It was published by Gilleflower of London. The history attained a ninth edition by 1724 and was translated into French (16 vols., Paris 1728-1742; 12 vols., Avignon 1802!).

Echard dedicated the history of the Roman Republic to Sir John Sommers, a leading Whig and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal⁶³. In the preface he surveyed his sources ancient and modern.

Polybios was «too much addicted to Preaching», Dionysios a morose antiquarian, Dio a feeble flatterer, and Livy «a little too verbose and circumstantial, and too much given to prodigies and Patavinity». At the same time Echard was to make manifest his reliance on Livy, Dionysios, Plutarch, Polybios, Dio, Appian and Caesar.

His only modern precursors were Sir Walter Raleigh in his *History of the World*⁶⁴; Alexander Ross, *History of the World*, a continuation of

⁶² A whole range of reference works, including *Biographia Britannica* and the *DNB*, strangely cite the fourth edition 1699. In the fullest essay on Echard, Goulding dates the history simply 1698. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Ancient History and the Antiquarian*, *JWCI* 13 (1950), p. 285-315, reprinted in his *Studies in Historiography*, New York 1966, p. 1f., dates it «c. 1697»!

The dates of the editions, which are not easy to decipher, since so many sets in libraries are composite, are as follows: 1695; second 1696; third 1697; fourth 1698-1699; fifth 1702-1705; sixth?; seventh 1713; eighth 1719-1720; ninth 1724-1725; tenth 1734.

J. BRUNET, *Manuel du libraire*, Paris, vol. II p. 937, mentions only the 1734 edition.

⁶³ Sommers (1651-1716), a leading supporter of William III, had a large part in the 'Declaration of Rights'. Lord keeper of the Great Seal 1692-1700, Lord High Chancellor 1697. He was famous for his command of Italian, and as a patron of literature and art. He was also President of the Royal Society 1699-1704.

⁶⁴ Raleigh's history was an extraordinary precursor of Echard's. Entitled the *History of the World*, 1614, it was written during his confinement in the Tower (1603-1616), probably from 1608. It reached only to 168 BC, when Prince Henry, to whom it was dedicated, died (1612).

Its usefulness to Echard was obviously limited. Raleigh shared with him a belief in the moral purpose of history, going back to classical models, and a belief in the workings of Providence. Unlike Echard, however, Raleigh discussed at length divergences between sources, and drew many parallels and contrasts with English history, which Echard eschewed. Raleigh's history went through ten editions in the seventeenth century.

Raleigh to 1640 (published 1652); William Howell, *Elements of History from the Creation of the World to the Reign of Constantine*, originally published in Latin in 1671 (English 1704)⁶⁵; Samuel de Broé, Seigneur de Citri et de la Guette, *Histoire du premier et du second triumvirat* (1681)⁶⁶; and Pedro Maxia, *Historia imperial y cesarea* (Seville 1547⁶⁷, from Caesar to Maximian, English translation 1604).

These historians had their problems in Echard's view. Raleigh's history ended with the Second (in fact, Third) Macedonian War, and was disproportionate. Ross also suffered from the latter fault in length and vigour. Howell took the story three centuries further down, and exhibited «wonderful pains and industry», but spent too much time on the first fifty-seven years of the Republic, and too little on the rest. He was an «incomparable collector», but an «indifferent historian». Broé was tedious (verbose and detailed), and more a biographer than an historian. Maxia, finally, dealt only with the last period of the Republic, and was very poor on Augustus.

There are two comments on Broé which deserve special attention, as they may be vital clues to Echard's own historical models. His style was «too flat and insipid to affect us thoroughly», and his «critical learning [made] him less pleasant than otherwise he might be». Of these moderns, however, Echard admitted that Howell and Broé might be copied «almost verbally».

Echard's own aim was to provide «an entire, 'tho short Account of the Roman Affairs for 727 years». He would pay particular attention to geography and chronology. The first is demonstrated by his clear and concise notes on each major place mentioned. The second may be illustrated by his notes on the foundation of Rome: 01.6.4, Anno Mundi 3252, year 6 of Jotham of Judah, year 7 of Pekah of Israel, 431 years after the destruction of Troy, 120 years after the building of Carthage, 214 years before the founding of the Persian Empire, and 752 BC!

The history was designed to be «particularly useful to young Students and Gentlemen», providing insights into Roman customs, laws and

⁶⁵ William Howell (c. 1638-1683), Fellow of Magdalen, Cambridge, DCL 1664, Chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln. His history was also praised by Gibbon.

⁶⁶ Broé's dates cannot be specified more closely than late seventeenth century, from his publications. He is not in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, but there is an entry in *Nouvelle biographie générale* (vol. X p. 625). He wrote mainly on American history (the Spanish conquests).

⁶⁷ Pedro Maxia (c. 1495-1552) died at Seville. Commissioned by Charles V to write his biography, but more famous as an essayist: *Dialogies*, 1547.

magistrates which could not be gained from Rosinus, i.e. Johannes Rossfeld, *Romanarum Antiquitatum libri decem*, Basel 1583, still in print in 1743. Echard told the story of Rome's amazing rise from «scandalous» origins to world power, «more by the Reputation of its Virtue than the Force of Arms».

The proportions may be seen at a glance: Book 1, the monarchy, p. 1-57; Book 2, the Republic, p. 59-294; Book 3, the Triumvirate to Augustus, p. 295-453⁶⁸.

The account of the monarchy instantly reveals much of his method. Some stories he rationalised: Rhea Silvia was ravished by her uncle; the myth of the she-wolf was a misunderstanding of Faustulus' wife. He hardly alluded to conflicts between sources: a rare example is, how many Vestals were there? And he saw that the figures given for Romulus' army were «a great number for a newly built city». On the other hand, he accepted that Romulus became tyrannical and was torn to pieces by the senators, who carried the pieces of him out under their clothing! In cases of conflict, Echard usually followed Dionysios in preference to Livy: the number of Sabine women; the size of Romulus' army; Tarquin I's lack of children; and the dimensions of the Capitoline temple. This is significant in the light of René Rapin's *Comparison of Thucydides and Livy* (Oxford 1694). On crucial matters of interpretation, Rome's greatness and magnificence began with the Tarquins, but on the overthrow of the monarchy (dated, interestingly, to 507), her territory measured only 1200 sq. miles. Her successes to this point were simply due to the fact that her neighbours were more barbarous and ignorant than she was. On some matters of basic understanding, Echard was exactly right: the *comitia centuriata* gave control to the wealthy in return for the military burdens they bore. This was, however, counter-balanced by the historian's moral emphasis: Rome had no divorce for 520 years and no parricide for six centuries!

The main narrative then commenced. The consular government was established by an «odd mixture of Fury and Cunning» (p. 59). Many details again come not from Livy but Greek sources: the institution of the quaestorship in 509, the first treaty with Carthage in 509, the battle casualties in 504 and 501, the claim that all magistrates resigned when a dictator was appointed, the date and casualties of the battle of Lake Regillus, the death of Coriolanus and Cassius, the numbers of the Fabii

⁶⁸ References are to the seventh edition, 1713.

at the Cremera, the presence of three plebeians in the second Decemvirate, the suicide of Appius Claudius cos. 471, and the fact that the Gauls entered Rome three days after the Allia. On the other hand, Echard followed Livy on some occasions: Cossus was a military tribune when he won the *spolia opima*, and there was only one plebeian among the «consular tribunes» in 400⁶⁹.

Political judgements are significant. The institution of the dictatorship was the ruin of the Republic, although the state was not «prejudiced» by it, in fact, until Sulla. The Conflict of the Orders was viewed with a jaundiced eye: Sicinius and Brutus were «two cunning and turbulent Fellows». The tribunes were «the greatest disturbers of the Commonwealth». Coriolanus' banishment was due to Decius, «a cunning and spiteful Fellow», whereas the former was a «true Roman»; on the next page he is admitted to be «an open Enemy of his Country». Sp. Cassius «affected Sovereignty and desired Popularity», for he had «grown insolent by his three Consulships and two Triumphs». Claudius rebuked the tribunes for their «rude Actions and seditious Practices», whereupon they «saucily» told him to leave the assembly, they discarded «all Respect and Reverence» over the agrarian law, and «insolently» impeached the consuls. The patricians responded with «wonderful Prudence and cautious Management». The *leges Publiliae* of 339 impaired the majesty of the state. It should be noted that Echard understood the *leges agrariae* perfectly well: it was proposed to divide the «public grounds which had been seized upon by the rich»⁷⁰.

A major theme of the history was, of course, Rome's rise to world power. Echard gave few judgements on this matter, but his ideas were crystal clear.

In the first place, disaster. The Gallic Sack occurred because of the Fabii's disregard for international law: «Favour so far prevail'd above

⁶⁹ Quaestorship, p. 65 (from Plut., *Val.* 12); Carthage, p. 66 (from Polybios III 22); 504, p. 70 (from Dion. Hal. V 42); 501, p. 72 (from Dion. Hal. V 49); dictator, p. 74 (from Polybios); Lake Regillus, p. 76f., from Dion. Hal. VI 5); Coriolanus, p. 94 (from Dion. Hal. VIII 59); Cassius, p. 96 (from Dion. Hal. IX 15); the Fabii, p. 98 (from Dion. Hal. IX 15); Claudius' suicide, p. 103 (from Dion. Hal. IX 54); second Decemvirate, p. 112 (from Dion. Hal. X 58); Allia, p. 138 (from Polybios II 18); Cossus, p. 126; sole plebeian in 400, p. 131.

⁷⁰ Dictatorship, p. 74f.; Sicinius and Brutus, p. 82; tribunes, p. 85; Decius, p. 90; Coriolanus, p. 91, cf. 92; Cassius, p. 95; Claudius, p. 101; tribunes, p. 108; Siccius and patricians, p. 108f.; *leges Publiliae*, p. 109; *lex agraria*, p. 96.

Equity», and the Romans were guilty of a «manifest Breach of Justice and the Law of Nations».

In the conquest of Italy Echard was at his most eloquent:

These were the principal Wars and Actions of the Romans with their nearest Neighbours, which were observed by their own Historians to have been all defensive, or at least, not begun without just Grounds and Provocations. Yet these, which may well enough bear the Name of Defensive Wars, still increase the Roman Dominions, which now contained in effect all old Latium, and the greatest Part of the other five Nations afterwards comprehended under that Name, viz. the Volsci, Aequi, Rutili, Hernici and Aurunci, together with most of Sabina and a great Part of Hetruria. So that now these Dominions contained more than double all the Extent of what they were at the Expulsion of the Kings.

On the other hand, Echard stated that the Samnites always broke their alliance⁷¹.

The causes of the First Punic War were, however, almost passed over; in the case of the Second, Saguntum was «a Town in alliance with Rome». As for poor Philip V, the Romans had

a good Opportunity, and not without Provocation, as well by his Breach of Faith with the Aetolians and the other Roman Allies in those Parts as by his Supplies long before sent out to Hannibal and at the earnest Request of the Athenians, as well as the Complaints of Attalus, king of Pergamus (*sic*) and the Rhodians...

There is not a word of the infamous double vote in the assembly. On the other hand, it is admitted that Perseus was sent to Rome to seek peace simply in order to allow Rome time to prepare for a resumption of war. The only exception in all this is the Third Punic War. The Carthaginians «had sufficient Justice on their Side»⁷². There is not a word about salt.

On the manners of the old Republic, and the themes of moral decline, Echard wrote of the execution of his son by Manlius that «although sad, [it] was a profitable Example to the rest of his Men»! The similar incident of Papirius and Fabius, however, was judged in rather the opposite sense. In the time of the Pyrrhic wars, every Roman «made the Honour of the Publick more than his own particular Profit»⁷³.

⁷¹ Gallic Sack, p. 136, 138; Italy, p. 154-155; Samnites, p. 168.

⁷² First Punic War, p. 181; Saguntum, p. 197; Philip, p. 218; Perseus, p. 227; Third Punic War, p. 230.

⁷³ Manlius, p. 158; Fabius, p. 163; Pyrrhic wars, p. 176.

What, then, caused the collapse of the Republic? The Gracchi were responsible for a «Sedition», which was «the first Step towards the Ruin of the Consular State». After the defeat of Numantia, the Romans «now began to decay, to degenerate from their ancient Modesty, Plainness and Severity of Life». Tiberius Gracchus was involved in Mancinus' disgrace. Echard admitted, on the other hand, that abuse of the *ager publicus* caused oppression and fraud. The turning point in Tiberius' career was the deposition of Octavius, managed with «Cunning and Violence». The riot of 133 was the «first Insurrection among the Romans that ended with Effusion of Blood since the Abrogation of Kingly Government»; all «former Seditions» were ended by the «Parties yielding to one another». The Gracchi were held responsible by Echard for changing the constitution of the state, and more especially for the «Disunion of Patrons and Clients». In 132, Gaius and his friends occupied the Capitol «privately arm'd». It is not, however, until the events of 100 that the *Senatus Consultum Ultimum* is explained. Echard knew that Saturninus became tribune after his dismissal as quaestor at Ostia. In 100 he was betrayed by Marius. The Italians are seen as justified in going to war to win the franchise⁷⁴.

Echard treated the civil wars even-handedly. Under Cinna and Marius

«none were spared either for the Dignity of their Worths or their Ages. The dead Bodies being barbarously mangled and abominably abused, were left to be torn in Pieces and devour'd by Dogs and Fowls, none daring bury them.

Sulla took Rome in 83, «killing and butchering many thousands after a most barbarous and inhuman Manner». And nothing could match the proscriptions. Echard's judgement was clear: Sulla's life was «very pernicious to his Country». And no crime was too great for his creatures such as Catiline⁷⁵.

The blame for the destruction of the Republic was sheeted home firmly: the First Triumvirate «proved the overthrow of the Consular and Popular State». Pompey is not shown in a very favourable light. From the death of Julia, he «resolv'd to pursue nothing but his own particular Advancement». In 53, he «conniv'd» at disturbances in order to be nominated dictator. It is then paradoxical that another member of that

⁷⁴ Gracchi, p. 234; Numantia, p. 237; riot, p. 240; 132, p. 244; *SCU*, p. 253; Saturninus, p. 252; Italians, p. 255.

⁷⁵ Cinna and Marius, p. 261; Sulla, p. 266, 269; Catiline, p. 283.

same cabal to dominate the state exercised his usual fascination on the historian. In Gaul, Echard wrote of Caesar's «Skill and Dexterity», of his «Humanity and other excellent Qualities, [which] absolutely gain'd the Hearts and Affections of his Soldiers», and his «many glorious Conquests and noble Victories». There were few vices that could be urged against his reputation, but Echard was forced to admit that he corrupted women and magistrates, and that he gave refuge «to all Manner of Criminals and such as were much in Debt».

The historian who could accept the appearance of Lucifer in 1651 had no difficulty with portents at the Rubicon: «a man of extraordinary Stature» led the army. For all that, he imagined Caesar's remorse, even though the general's main concern was what posterity would think. Caesar constantly sought accommodation, and was master of Italy within sixty days with «little or no Bloodshed»; his clemency was lauded. Pharsalia was the «most compleat 'tho not the most bloody Victory» that a general ever obtained. By the year 45, Caesar was «above all Mortals in that Age by his wonderful Acts». His dictatorship revealed the «Greatness of his Soul». Echard penned his obituary:

Then fell the great Julius Caesar... a Person of the greatest Soul, the most magnanimous Spirit and of the wonderful Accomplishments that Rome, or perhaps the World, ever saw⁷⁶.

Echard may have been in some ecclesiastical difficulties had his judgments been referred to certain quarters; but his words were echoed by Mommsen one and a half centuries later!

What gave the 'last blow' to the Republic? One moment it is the proscriptions of 43, the next the battle of Philippi, where there are more portents. From this moment the Triumvirs began to act as sovereigns.

The picture of Antony is dramatic. He made mistake after mistake. The key is patent: his thralldom to Cleopatra. The Egyptian queen clearly fascinated also the young cleric. Octavian, on the other hand, is almost another Caesar. Although Echard was appalled by his cruelty in his early career, the recurrent themes are the «Skill and Wisdom», as early as 42, of this «exquisite Politician», who showed «such an amazing Understanding and Skill at so small an Age» — only by now he was 27! After the war, he exercised «all the Clemency of a sweet-tempered Prince and

⁷⁶ First Triumvirate, p. 293; Pompey, p. 311, 313; Caesar in Gaul, p. 302, 305, 316, 317; Rubicon, p. 322; accommodation, p. 326; no bloodshed, p. 327; *clementia*, p. 330f.; Pharsalia, p. 348; 45, p. 365; dictatorship, p. 367; obituary, p. 373.

all the Cunning of an exquisite Politician». The account of the Settlement was, of course, a retelling of Dio's famous inner cabinet meeting. Octavian pretended to lay down power. The Augustan Age was thus ushered in, «all Wars and Contests ceasing, all Arts and Sciences flourishing»⁷⁷!

There is hardly a mention of any historical problem in the whole of Echard's narrative of the Republic. It is smooth and seamless, in order not to distract from the story which he is telling and the lessons to be drawn. The reader acquainted with Livy's constant complaints down into the third century about his contradictory sources can only be amazed.

There are extensive notes on new magistracies, in keeping with his promise and the liking he had for compiling reference works; for example, notes on the praetors and the curule aediles. The former «may be English'd Lord Chief Justices». He has some memorable descriptions, such as Cincinnatus, found «hard at the Plow, only in his Truss and a Cap on his Head», or Papirius, enslaved for his father's debts, whom the creditor tried to abuse «after a filthy Manner».

Echard finally has some interesting ideas about the working of politics. The *comitia tributa* admitted all Romans «in or without the City», whereas the *curiata* admitted only the inhabitants of Rome; the *tributa* had no set place of meeting, no auspices, no senatorial control. He thought that it was intended from the beginning to have six «consular tribunes», but that only three were chosen in 444. In general, he opined, the people «always judged of things by their outward Appearances»⁷⁸.

Echard's history of the Republic has been little noticed by later writers, which is unjust. Thomas Hearne's spite naturally extended to this production:

This Mr Echard also stole his Roman History from Dr Howell's History, without so much as making acknowledgement, as he has not done of any Authors he made use of⁷⁹.

Hearne was of the opinion that such authors should not be read: his own perusal had not even extended to the preface, where he might have seen that Echard paid special attention and tribute to Howell.

⁷⁷ Proscriptions, p. 385; Philippi, p. 394; Cleopatra, p. 352, 398, 403 etc.; Octavian's cruelty, p. 396; virtues, p. 403, 405, 412, 438; settlement, p. 448.

⁷⁸ *Comitia tributa*, p. 102; consular tribunes, p. 12; Cincinnatus, p. 105; Papirius, p. 162; praetors, p. 147f.; aediles, p. 148f.; people, p. 292.

⁷⁹ Th. HEARNE, *op. cit.* (n. 22), vol. I p. 297 (20 October 1706).

Another contemporary reference comes in the North Country diary of the Rev. John Tomlinson. Under August 1718, after mentioning Echard's 'history', presumably that of England, he continues:

he flags in his Roman history, the first two volumes only good —
Dryden corrected his first volume which made it excellent⁸⁰.

That is something which no one else tells us.

The beginning of the modern epoch in the history of the Roman Republic may be dated 1738, when Louis de Beaufort's *Sur l'incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'histoire romaine* appeared; it was translated into English two years later⁸¹. By that time, of course, Echard had been dead for ten years. What would he have made of this widest-ranging criticism of the whole tradition on Rome down to the third century BC? One can only assume that he would have been deeply perplexed.

In the same year there began appearing the next history of the Republic in English, Nathaniel Hooke's *Roman History* (4 vols, 1738-1771)⁸². It has the briefest of prefaces. The only existing general accounts of the Republic are the «compendious history of the royal and consular states by Mr Echard» and that of the Jesuits Catrou and Rouille, yet the former is «too brief», the latter «too diffuse and verbose». There were also Rollin, who avoided these extremes but did not use his judgement to distinguish true from false, and Vertot, on whom Rollin was too dependent and who was «devoted to the aristocratical faction». Hooke himself, he admitted, might be thought «too much biassed to the popular side».

The work is enormous (more than 5,000 pages in the 1818 edition, for example), yet Echard is not mentioned anywhere by Hooke save the preface. The major secondary sources on whom he relied were Catrou and Rouille, Rollin, Vertot, Kennett, Montesquieu, de Beaufort (whom he much combatted), Sigonio, Middleton and Crevier.

The next major English contribution was the three folio volumes of Adam Ferguson, *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman*

⁸⁰ *Six North Country Diaries*, ed. J. Hodgson (Surtees Society Publications, 118), Durham 1910, p. 130. The not uninformed editor identifies Echard with his more famous namesake.

⁸¹ See my *Gibbon's Complement: Louis de Beaufort*, Venice 1986.

⁸² Hooke (d. 1763) was a most interesting person. A Catholic, a lifelong friend of Pope, to whose deathbed he brought a priest, and an admirer of Fenelon (he translated Ramsay's biography of him from the French), he assisted the Duchess of Marlborough to write her memoirs for which he was paid £5,000 and tried to convert her!

Republic (1783). It was dedicated to the King⁸³. This work was also very briefly justified by the author. A Roman History

collected from the remains of the ancient authors has been often written in the different languages of Europe. But a relation worthy of the subject, simple and unambitious of ornament, containing in the parts an useful detail, and in the whole a just representation, of the military conduct and political experience of the people, appeared to me to be still wanting.

Ferguson was notably reticent in mentioning any existing versions or indeed any predecessors on whom he might have drawn. The footnotes are frequent and cite, as he promised, all the major literary sources. In the three volumes, he mentions only some ten modern writers, including Macchiavelli, Montesquieu, Sigonio, Manuzio and Pigghe, but also Cook's *Voyages*, Buffon's *Natural History*, and Voltaire.

One of the most remarkable books ever written on the Republic appeared in London in 1855, *An Enquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History* (2 vols), by Sir George Cornewall Lewis. He was the English inheritor of the mantle of de Beaufort. He grouped Echard, along with Vertot, Catrou, Rollin and Hooke as representing »the period of unenquiring and uncritical reproduction in Roman history»⁸⁴.

In our century, Paul Hazard in his famous survey *The European Mind*, examining the period 1680-1715, cited Echard as an example of the old pre-Pyrrhonists in his retelling of the legend of Aeneas. Not that there had not been earlier critical historians. Hazard mentioned Saint-Evremond, *Réflexions sur les divers génies du peuple romain* (1683), and Jacob Gronow, who in his *Dissertatio de origine Romuli* (1684), denied the existence of Romulus, as did later the English scholar Henry Dodwell in his *De veteribus Graecorum Romanorumque cyclis* (1701)⁸⁵.

Arnaldo Momigliano in his often quoted essay *Ancient History and the Antiquarian*⁸⁶, suggested that in the later seventeenth century historians of the classical world could be classified into three main groups: those who used coins, inscriptions and archaeology (such as Vaillant), those who used literary sources (Tillemont), and those who offered moral or political interpretations (such as Echard and Vertot; the latter

⁸³ Adam Ferguson (1723-1816), professor of Natural History at Edinburgh, then of Moral Philosophy and British Commissioner at Philadelphia 1778.

⁸⁴ *Enquiry*, London 1855, vol. I p. 4.

⁸⁵ P. HAZARD, *The European Mind*, Engl. transl. Yale 1953, p. 37.

⁸⁶ *Art. cit.* (n. 62).

«introduced into Roman history the popular notion of history by Revolution»). Momigliano quotes from Echard's preface to stress his awareness of his novelty — but never mentions that this was because he was writing the first history of the Republic!

Drawing on Momigliano, but with much more to offer, is the Dutch historiographer Hendrik Erasmus, *The Origins of Rome in Historiography from Petrarch to Perizonius*. In the midst of raging Pyrrhonism, Echard remained «essentially conservative». Erasmus offered one example, his account of the rape of Rhea Silvia — but Echard did at least suggest that the guilty party was her uncle! Erasmus also cited Saint-Evremond and Dodwell, but added Samuel Bochart who denied that Aeneas ever reached Italy, in his *Epistula de quaestione num Aeneas umquam fuerit in Italia* (1674)⁸⁷. In this regard, Echard was out of sympathy with a major stream in contemporary historiography. To this list, one should add Philip Cluver, *Italia antiqua* (1624), in which he questioned all the legends on the foundation and suggested that the whole history before the Gallic sack was suspect.

There is one scholar with whom Echard was almost certainly not acquainted, and that was the greatest authority on the history of the Republic in the seventeenth century, the man who might have written the first history had he cared to set his mind to it: the Dutchman Jacob Perizonius (Voorbroeck). Apart from his *Observationes historicae* of 1684 on the Republic, his inaugural lecture at Leyden in 1702, *De fide contra Pyrrhonismum historicum*, defended the possibility of the sure reconstruction of the past⁸⁸.

Momigliano placed Echard, with justice, among moralising historians. He also fits his second category of those who used only literary sources, which is a matter for some surprise. There were already in existence many collections of Roman inscriptions, although the corpus for the Republic is only a fraction of what it is for imperial history. Perhaps more remarkable, however, is Echard's neglect of numismatic evidence. The classic work was Ezechiel Spanheim's *De praesentia et usu veterum numismatum* (1664), but there was also Obadiah Walker, *The Greek and Roman History illustrated by Coins and Medals* (1692). Joseph Addison's *Dialogues on the Usefulness of Ancient Medals* was not published until 1719, after the author's death. Echard obviously thought his liter-

⁸⁷ *Origins*, Assen 1962, p. 108.

⁸⁸ See my *The Historical Observations of Jacob Perizonius*, Rome 1991.

ary sources perfectly adequate for his purpose, or perhaps the flood of his early literary work did not allow him the time to use the more technical numismatic evidence.

There are, finally, two fundamental contexts in which the work of Echard must be placed in order to be understood. In the first place, his history of the Republic was published as 'the battle of the books' was beginning⁸⁹. William Wotton, in his *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694), spoke for the modernists, following Sir William Temple's *Ancient and Modern Learning*, in his *Miscellanea*, part two (1690), which championed the ancients. And Degory Wheare's bibliography, *Method and Order in Reading both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories* (1685), had just been translated into English from the original Latin (1625). A second edition in 1694 contained an introduction by Henry Dodwell, «An invitation to Gentlemen to acquaint themselves with Ancient History». He had been so bold as to assert here that

history is much more fitted for an active than a studious life, and therefore much more useful for Gentlemen than scholars.

It was precisely this audience to which Echard addressed his history. There is no doubt about which side he took in 'the battle of the books', although he was able to encompass modern history as well.

The second context in which Echard's historical work must be placed is the enormous contribution to English scholarship in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century by clergymen of the Church of England.

The success of their work depended not on official encouragement, given to their studies by academic authority, but rather on private enterprise backed by ecclesiastical patronage. This patronage was exercised, moreover, far more by means of a judicious allocation of benefices in the country at large than through specific endowments within the universities. No scholar of outstanding distinction in this period occupied a Chair of History in England, and the growth of historical erudition for which these men were responsible derived not from the creation of such ineffective posts as were originally the Regius Professorships, but from the sustained enthusiasm of individuals⁹⁰.

The Church's historical learning between 1660 and 1727 has been summarised as *Stupor Mundi Clerus Britannicus*. Echard played a not inglorious role in that scholarship.

⁸⁹ J. LEVINE, *The Battle of the Books*, Cornell 1991.

⁹⁰ D. DOUGLAS, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 254.

The most celebrated of England's historians is appropriately the greatest, but how many have noticed that vital step in Gibbon's intellectual progress in the summer of 1751, when on a visit to a family friend with his father he discovered a «common book», a continuation indeed, and «executed with more skill and taste» than the earlier sections⁹¹. It was from this «intellectual feast» that Gibbon was so reluctantly dragged by the dinner bell. The work was the continuation of Echard's Roman history.

University of Melbourne
Department of History

Ronald T. RIDLEY

⁹¹ E. GIBBON, *Memoirs of my Life*, ed. G. Bonnard, London 1966, p. 42.